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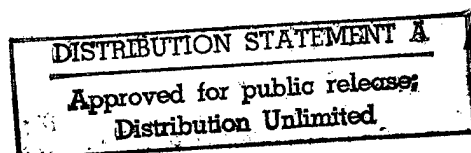
JPRS Report



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Near East & South Asia

EGYPT: Extremist Violence



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Near East & South Asia

EGYPT:

Extremist Violence

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1992 Security Incidents Reviewed

93AF0332E Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 19 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Najwa 'Abd-al-'Aziz: "Panorama of 1992's Nightmare Events With Statistics"]

[Text] In a few days, the world will say goodbye to 1992, and everyone will welcome 1993. The country witnessed thousands of criminal and political crimes, 70 percent of which were committed by extremist groups in recent incidents of terrorism against tourism in Egypt. These crimes clearly reflect the stupidity that rules the minds of these terrorists. Security prosecutions have finally reached the terrorist leaders and their active cadres in the country. The crimes have clearly demonstrated the terrorists' intent to strike a blow against tourism in Egypt, using this new terrorism tactic to aggravate the economic crisis.

A responsible security source said that Egypt lost \$500 million due to cancelled reservations in the month after the terrorist operations occurred. According to what the security source has determined, cancellations amounted to 45 percent of the reservations. It has become clear that approximately 3 million citizens living on income from tourism in the country suffered losses. In the last half of the year, the country witnessed nine terrorist operations against foreign tourists. Five of the incidents caused no harm to tourists, but the four others caused the death of an English woman and wounded 13 other tourists.

Extremists also carried out many other crimes of terrorism. The districts of Manshiyat Nasir and Sanabu in Asyut witnessed a massacre between extremists and Christian groups that claimed 15 victims. Extremists fired at the former senior police officer of Dayrut district, Colonel Muhammad Najib, wounding him and others. They subjected an official in al-Fayyum to an Islamic hadd punishment, killing him in public, praying the funeral prayer over him, and hiding his body. Extremists broke into the apartment of State Security Officer Lieutenant Colonel Mutawi' Abu-Naja in al-Fayyum while he was performing ablutions in preparation for the midafternoon prayer and attempted to kidnap his son. They struck the officer's head with sharp instruments, seriously wounding him. Next they killed a police detective in the city of Isna as he was motorcycling home from work and stole his gun. They ambushed a citizen who had attended a wedding in Bani Suwayf and chain-whipped him on the pretext that party-going is a sin. Two of them assassinated political writer Faraj Fudah.

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 49



Although punishments for smuggling drugs and other materials have been toughened to include the death penalty, the crime continues to be committed despite the strengthened penalty. In fact, criminals now take the initiative to use guns as soon as they sense that the authorities are about to arrest them. Interior Minister Major General Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa announced that in only four months the security authorities arrested 5,356 suspects in drug cases. Six major drug smugglers were turned over to the Office of the Socialist Public Prosecutor for investigation of fortunes totaling 63 million pounds. Terrorism has bared its teeth, and shooting has broken out to disturb the calm of villages and deface Egypt's civilized image.

In another area, the country witnessed a number of networks spying for foreign countries this year. The most notorious case involved the family of the Israeli Faris Subhi Mistrati and a Mosad officer. The international organization known as Salsabil was also uncovered.

A source stated that more than 17 officers and municipal policemen have been killed, in addition to the death of three others and the wounding of 11 by bullets and terrorist weapons. At the same time, 53 suspects were killed, the most prominent of them being former Major General Shamshun and his son in Heliopolis. One of the year's most prominent crimes, the incident of the young girl at al-'Atabah, struck fear into the hearts and minds of all women and girls in Egypt. Then there was the businesswoman who pursued and fired shots at her ex-husband in al-Shawaribi Street after she had a dream. In a meeting with Greater Cairo's three security directors, the interior minister stated that mounted patrols had helped reduce crime rates by 20 percent.

A high-level security source in the Interior Ministry said that 1,373 suspects have been detained in prisons, including many terrorists who have committed recent acts of violence and intimidation.

The following information derives from AL-WAFD's observation of the security situation in recent days and monitoring of the worst cases.

On 1 January of last year, the Socialist Public Prosecutor issued a decree taking custody of the wealth of Ashraf al-Sa'd and his partners because of his failure to cash a total of 748,133 pounds in depositors' checks and his fleeing overseas.

On 4 January, the governor of al-Minufiyah, Dr. Yahya Hasan, was arrested to be confronted with the violations attributed to him and his aides.

Two students set fire to the villa of Jihan al-Sadat in al-Ma'murah after failing to burglarize it.

A 1992-model murder victim: In Nazlat al-Husayn in al-Minya, an extremist blew up his father and his family with a bomb in the bedroom.

Believe it or not! On 11 January in Alexandria, the 12-year-old son of the shaykh of a well-known tribe married a girl who his six years older than he. The prosecutor's office ordered that the two be released.

On 12 January, a citizen who sneaked onto the floor of parliament was apprehended and arrested by parliamentary guards. He was taken from the chamber for questioning.

An espionage network: On 7 February, security authorities arrested an Israeli, Faris Subhi Mistrati, his daughter Fa'iqah, an Israeli intelligence officer, and his son, for working for Mosad.

On 10 February, the head and second-in-command of an international drug-smuggling gang were killed. A third gang member was wounded, and the remaining members surrendered in a gun battle.

Salsabil: On 5 March, security authorities uncovered the international Salsabil organization. The owners of the Salsabil computer companies had prepared an extremist organization to overthrow the government and had received support from abroad.

On 8 March, all of the defendants in the case of the leaders of Egypt Petroleum Company were acquitted, including 16 leaders.

On 10 March, investigations revealed the existence of a money-changing company with 10 million pounds to spend on the organization, using the most modern technology.

Four municipal policemen and a recruit were arrested in al-Jizah for abducting a woman walking in the street and taking turns assaulting her.

Ninety members of extremist groups were arrested in al-Fayyum with 75 motorcycles in connection with the murder of State Security's head monitor of religious activity in al-Fayyum.

The "Girl of al-'Atabah": On mid-Ramadan (20 March), two youths devoid of all human feelings committed a hideous crime. They surrounded a young girl on a crowded bus and tried to assault her with their hands, causing her to faint. She began to bleed and lost her virginity. The two youths were arrested. One works as an accountant; the other is unemployed.

On 24 March, the accused accountant attempted suicide before being taken to prison. The prosecutor's office asked everyone who had witnessed the incident to come forward to testify.

After squandering his money on drugs, a father in the village of (Sanjalaf) in al-Minufiyah tried to kill his wife and two children by dousing them with kerosene and setting them on fire because of his drug addiction, but they finished him off.

The Dayrut massacre: 15 people were killed and five were wounded in Dayrut in a feud that broke out over disagreements between local extremist groups and Christian groups over the purchase of a house.

On 7 May, a horrendous crime took place when a young pupil killed his female teacher with his father's pistol in class at the Alexandria Lycee. He suspected that there was a relationship between them.

The Faraj Fudah murder: At 0645 Tuesday, 9 June, as the intellectual Dr. Faraj Fudah—accompanied by his 15-year-old son, Ahmad, and his friend Ra'fat Zaki, a lawyer—was preparing to enter his car after leaving his office on Asma' Fahmi Street in Nasr City, two terrorists opened fire on him with an automatic weapon. Fudah was taken to al-Mirghani Hospital, where he died. His driver was able to chase one of the terrorists, who was arrested; the other escaped.

The Idku incidents: On 13 August, 60 troublemakers were arrested in Idku. The demonstrators had burned a number of shops, with losses estimated at 10 million pounds, after the murder of the merchant Sa'id Ja'bub inside the police station.

After his wife demanded household money from him, a man in Imbahah burned her to death. They had been married for six months.

Eight persons were killed, and four were missing after a house collapsed in al-Mahallah al-Kubra. One hundred and forty worshipers were rescued.

The ongoing tourism story: On 26 August, security agencies announced the arrest of members of an extremist group in Qina. The group included seven persons led by a hunter. They had thrown two explosive charges at a tourist bus in Isna.

On 27 August, an al-Jihad member in Bani Suwayf strangled his brother's wife, the daughter of his maternal aunt, after raping her and stealing her gold jewelry. He threw her body, with its torn clothing, into the middle of the cornfields.

A wife in Bani Suwayf burned her husband to death over household money.

A search was mounted for six suspects who escaped from the detention room in the Zifta police station by breaking the walls.

Sabotage groups: On 3 August, sabotage groups that had infiltrated Egypt were caught. Sixty-eight suspects who had infiltrated into Egypt across the Sudanese border in the south were arrested. Most of the members of the groups turned out to have received their training in Afghanistan and Iran.

Twenty-two people were killed, and 22 were injured in the collapse of a building in al-Sharabiyah.

On 1 September, after four hours of digging in the fields at Dayrut, security forces confiscated weapons and ammunition that an extremist had buried before his death in the Manqabad incident.

Six students set fire to their school in al-Ma'adi in revenge for the failure of their colleague.

On 7 September, a woman diplomat at the British Embassy drowned while swimming in the embassy pool in Garden City.

On 9 September, 11 extremist leaders in Sawhaj who had participated in the Dayrut massacre were arrested.

On 10 September, eight robbers killed a mother and her daughter in al-Sharqiyah to steal her jewelry.

The earthquake: A devastating earthquake shook Egypt for 60 seconds on the afternoon of Monday, 12 October. First-day figures indicated 377 people killed in Greater Cairo and 3,500 wounded. Dozens of buildings collapsed. The 5.9 quake was centered southwest of Hulwan.

On the first day, there were 153 fatalities and 2,732 people injured in Cairo; 115 people were killed and 700 injured in al-Jizah; and 70 [other] persons [were injured], mostly concentrated in Shubra al-Khaymah in al-Qalyubiyah.

On the second day, the number of victims of the earthquake disaster rose to 477 dead and 2,000 wounded. Some 871 buildings collapsed, including a Heliopolis apartment building, and 1,205 buildings collapsed in a number of governorates. There were cracks in 140 Islamic antiquities and mosques in Cairo.

On the third day, 40 bodies were pulled from the rubble of the "apartment house of death."

On 16 October, the owners of the Heliopolis apartment building were forbidden to travel. Miraculously, after 73

hours under the rubble, a young man, engineer Aktham Sayyid Isma'il, was rescued alive from the "apartment of death" and taken to hospital.

On the fifth day, 55 earthquake victims who were demonstrating were imprisoned for two weeks.

On the eighth day, only seconds before a three-story house in Shubra collapsed, a police officer saved 35 residents from death under the rubble.

On 22 October, extremists opened fire on a tourist bus carrying 33 English tourists along the agricultural road next to the town of Dayrut.

An explosive charge that was being set by two extremists in Bulaq al-Dakrur went off.

The last terrorist leaders to fall late in 1992: Security agencies in Imbabah raided dens in al-Basrawi and arrested more than 300 persons. They arrested a political organization called the Shaykh Jabir Ahmad Muhammad Organization. The prosecutor ordered the shaykh and 12 of his aides to be imprisoned for two weeks. So ended the pages of the year 1992.

Police Discuss Crime Statistics, Extremism

93AF0333A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
12 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Hasan al-Shayib]

[Text] The trend to exploit juveniles in crimes of terrorism and extremism has recently spread. In the past they were used only in crimes of begging, theft, pickpocketing, and drug peddling. This serious exploitation is taking place while the law on juveniles number 31 of 1974 deals with youths up to the age of 18, thus protecting them against severe penalty regardless of the crimes they commit.

In the case of extremist incidents that occurred in Dayrut, Qina, al-Fayyum and other places, most of those accused were between 14 and 18 years old. Even the attack on the tourist bus in Qina the primary suspect, Bastawi 'Abd-al-Majid Abu-al-Majid, was 18 years old. In the attack on a bus in Dayrut, the person suspected of blowing the whistle as a signal to begin the attack was a 17 year old juvenile.

In the various crime categories, the juveniles' share figures highly. According to 1991 Public Security statistics, 219 juveniles committed 200 crimes, including 19 murders, 31 beatings causing bodily harm, 2 kidnappings, 79 incidents of sexual molestation and rape, 45 thefts using force, seven cases of arson, four incidents involving forgery of official documents, and one case of banknote counterfeit.

With regard to misdemeanors, juveniles committed 21,198 misdemeanors during the same year, including

4,914 thefts, 76 incidents of sexual molestation, 6,997 beatings, and 264 cases of manslaughter, and 10 cases of fraud.

Maj. Gen. Sami Isma'il, director of juvenile police at the Ministry of Interior, is strongly opposed to considering youngsters as juveniles until the age of 18. He says at this age a young man is capable of committing a complete crime; he can also get married and be responsible for a family. In most of the crimes committed the perpetrators were between the ages of 16 and 18, because the accused at this age will be at the peak of youth and adolescence. He is easily influenced and can be used as a tool. This calls for strong deterrence in order to curb his impetuosity. Such deterrence is found in severe punishment.

The director of youth affairs believes that the seriousness of exploiting juveniles in committing crimes lies in the difficulty in proving such exploitation and in the juveniles' fear of the instigator and their close ties to him. They never reports him. As an example, he pointed to the arrest of a person in Dumyat who sexually molests youngsters, then threatens and exploits them.

Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Ajhuri, assistant minister of interior and director of port security, stresses that treating such an individual as a juvenile would cause him to become even more ferocious and more of an extremist when he grows older because, having experienced an incident and not having been sufficiently punished, he would indulge even further in such actions.

Maj. Gen. al-Ajhuri says: The exploitation of youths in acts of extremism and terror is a very serious phenomenon because it is detrimental and destructive for the Egyptian youth. I believe that dealing with this phenomenon is absolutely not a security matter. Youth organizations and domestic societies should try to exploit these youngsters' idle time and potential by providing them with work so they will not tend to engage in crime.

Maj. Gen. Muhammad Fahmi 'Azab, inspector of investigation at the Ministry of Interior, stressed that classifying a person juvenile up to the age of 18 has introduced new elements in the world of crime. These elements are distinguished by their impulsiveness and by the fact that they are protected by the law. This has enabled terrorists gangs, gangsters, and drug dealers to exploit this law by recruiting youths. They exploit their ignorance in religion, the ease by which they can be influenced, and their need for money.

The dangerous quality about these youths, Maj. Gen. 'Azab says, is that they are extremely physically fit, and are often faster than the policemen. They resist arrest fiercely, because of by their knowledge of the dire consequences and of the law's protection of them.

The inspector of investigation at the Interior Ministry added that members of extremist groups and those who

engineer these crimes charge the youngsters with executing a crime and then position themselves in certain places from which they can run away from the law. But they are not known to the juveniles because most of the time they assume code names.

'Asim Hijazi, head of the information branch at the Youth Police Administration, says that before the current law on juveniles number 31 of 1974 was enacted, a person was considered a juvenile up to the age of 15, then it was raised to 18. It lists seven cases of juvenile delinquency. It is concerned with procedural matters for the prosecution and the court and the execution of the penalty only. As for other crimes, they are subject to regular penalties.

But, Maj. Gen. Hijazi added, I do not expect the death sentence or life or term imprisonment at hard labor to be applied to juveniles. The maximum sentence on those above the age of 15 and up to 15 [figures as published] are imprisoned in a penitentiary jail that did not exist before 1981. If a juvenile below the age of 15 commits a murder, his sentence would be incarceration in a youth care institute for five years.

Maj. Gen. 'Abd al-'Aziz, minister of interior and director of Cairo Security, has a different and more comprehensive and realistic view. He believes that youngsters are being used in all aspects of crime. This is a social problem with all its ramifications. It concerns the standard of education, housing, and utilities. Among those crimes are terrorist crimes in which the youths are exploited.

He says that it is easy for anyone to have young people rally around them because youths can be found sleeping on sidewalks and in mosques. When I was director of security in al-Sharqiyah Governorate we arrested in al-Zaqaziq 70 children between seven and 14 years of age whom members of al-Jihad Organization used to take from mosques in order to teach them, train them, and bribe them with biscuits and fruit.

In the incident that took place in Qina, the arrested suspect, Bastawi, came from an impoverished family, held a technician's diploma, and had no job. The problem therefore concerns existing social conditions, unemployment, and problems with earning a living.

Maj. Gen. 'Abd-al-'Aziz calls on social, environmental, housing, and urban planning experts to study these social phenomena.

The key to solving the problem from his standpoint is to revert to the past practice of teaching youngsters a skill starting from the age of five or six, so that by the time the youngster is 15 years old he will be well skilled. Also, small factories should be allowed to employ youngsters. It is an established fact that one of the reasons for the high cost of labor is the lack of boy laborers because they are protected by the [child labor] law, but the fact is that the law is spoiling them, leaving them unemployed, and letting them sleep on sidewalks.

Security Officials View Protective Measures

93AF0334D Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Hana' Mustafa]

[Text] It is sad to see terrorist gangs causing the martyrdom or injury of the symbols of security, be they officers or privates. The loss is a grievous one, both on the individual and public levels. It hurts to see mean, cowardly hands assassinating some of our soldiers and officers whose only concern is to preserve public security in times when security has become scarce. They have taken upon themselves the task of preserving security, regardless of the consequences. They themselves need to have their security boosted and their conditions improved.

The question that comes to the fore is whether the martyrdoms and injuries were due to the lack of resources available for maintaining security? Or is it the nature of the social outcasts that has changed? The martyrdom of Captain 'Ali Khatir, the blood of Lieutenant Colonel al-Makhzanji, and that of Captain Muhsin 'Arafat or Private Subhi Ibrahim, and others upon whom the honor of martyrdom has been bestowed or who were injured at the hands of terrorists prompts us to wonder whether the security man charged with maintaining security feels personally secure himself, or he is in a state in which, as the proverb says, one cannot give something that he does not have.

Major General Ahmad Rushdi, a former interior minister, said, on the basis of his experience, that injuries and deaths are bound to happen in major police operations. Battles involve sacrifices. A police officer, according to Rushdi, generally is well-trained, which makes him physically and mentally fit to carry out the tasks to which he is assigned. As for special operations and investigation officers, whose nature of work brings them in contact with or exposes them to terrorists or criminals, their training is of the highest order. They are physically fit, intelligent, and of good behavior.

In Rushdi's view, the physical training that the police academy carries out in its regular training courses qualifies an officer to deal with situations easily and swiftly.

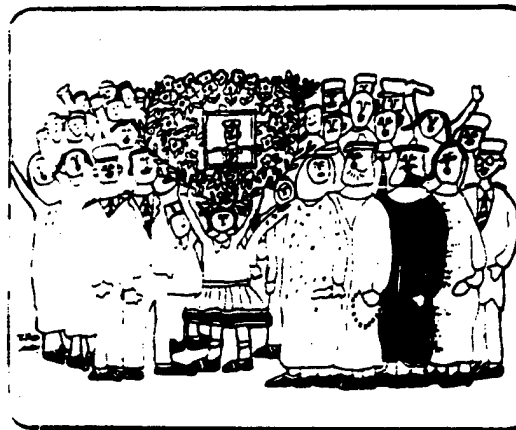
Finally, Rushdi, a former interior minister and member of parliament, said that there are no shortcomings on the part of security personnel. On the contrary, their standard of performance is even better than before. Nobody can avoid human and material losses in raids against dangerous criminals. Finally, we must believe in fate and take incurring losses into account.

Major General Dr. Ahmad Jalal 'Izz-al-Din, international antiterrorism expert, believes that police-raid plans should be developed. Units prepared for these tasks should be well-equipped, and consideration should be given to the need to raise the training standard in the execution of plans.

He stressed the need to equip the officers with modern personal protection equipment, such as bulletproof vests and shields. This is something that has been adopted by most of the countries in the world in which the phenomenon of terrorism is nonexistent. [as published]

'Izz-al-Din said that the weapons generally used by officers are below standard and do not match the terrorists' weapons.

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[Funeral for Captain 'Ali Khatir, policeman
killed by extremists during police crackdown]

On the contrary, Lieutenant Colonel 'Abdallah al-Shaykh, chief of investigation in Kafr al-Shaykh District, points to the recent improvement in the police weapons. He said the police have the most up-to-date and efficient weapons and that it is difficult for professional criminals to keep up with the great advances in police weapons.

Regarding the recent increase in casualties suffered in antiterrorist operations, al-Shaykh said: "I hope that no one suspects that the antiterrorist and search operations that the police officers carry out are not planned or that the operations that were recently carried out and resulted in human losses were haphazard. Raid expeditions must be protected by mobile units and must be accompanied by back up units and officer units. The squads should be carefully and thoroughly organized. As for what happened recently, all I can say about it is that it was fated. This is natural. Even in military operations, losses of no less than 5 percent must be taken into account.

Regarding the doubts that have been raised about the qualifications of the special operations officers, Maj. Gen. Ahmad Jalal 'Izz-al-Din said that more than 70 percent of Police College graduates work in this branch.

The Central Security officers are distinguished by their discipline and their extraordinary endurance. "I do not think that an ordinary officer has the physical fitness and endurance that the special operations officer has. This is because he is often idealistic and disciplined with inexhaustible enthusiasm."

Major General Muhammad al-Shishtawi has his own views. He said that the protectors of security themselves have an inner feeling of a lack of personal security. This is the result of many things that have accumulated and have been inherited. The Law on Police Authority is devoid of any provisions setting compensation for the self-sacrifice that police officers of all grades make. For example, the officer or soldier who becomes a martyr during antiterrorist operations or engagements with gangsters or whose service is terminated because of a lack of physical fitness for any reason is entitled only to a pension that is not commensurate with the degree of the sacrifice he has made. It is time for the interior minister to look into the schedule appended to the Law on Police Authority with a view toward implementing Article 110 in order to increase and improve pensions and to ensure personal security for police personnel so that justice and balance is maintained between sacrifice and compensation. The time has come for the president to intervene in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution in order to provide guarantees for police personnel in the face of contemporary challenges and the sacrifices they require.

Shishtawi calls for medical care to be extended to members of the police personnel families, which are deprived of the head of the family most of the time because of the long hours that he has to work.

Commenting on this point, al-Shaykh said: "It is necessary for the question of medical treatment for police officers to be reviewed. Under the present system, police personnel have been placed under the umbrella of the Health Insurance Authority. This does not provide high quality medical care for the majority of the officers because they are busy and have no time to visit the outpatient clinics.

He suggested that a monthly medical allowance be paid to members of the police force, similar the allowance that is paid to all of the members of the judiciary.

A special operations officer stressed the need to provide communications equipment, arms, and transportation facilities for the officers because of the importance of time in a raid operation.

The officer was supported in this view by al-Shaykh and al-Shishtawi. The latter said: "The government should spare no effort to provide protection for police personnel and supply them with bulletproof vests, bombs, and other means, such as those means used in advanced countries, particularly if we realize the cost the state budget has to bear for training, preparing, and equipping

the men. This is especially true if we take into consideration the daring of the fierce criminals and their lack of Egyptian ethics and values, contrary to what such criminals used to be in the past.

Al-Shaykh stressed that the well-behaved criminals of the past no longer exist, and that today's criminals are distinguished by meanness and viciousness, which contributes to incurring heavier losses during raid operations.

If we move to Law No. 109 of 1971 that concerns the Police Authority Law and determines how martyrs and injured police personnel are to be treated, we find that it discriminates between martyrs and wounded during military operations or because of them. This would be subject to Law No. 70 of 1968 concerning fixing an extraordinary pension. As for those who become martyrs or who suffer injury during special police operations against gangsters and dangerous criminals or during the dismantling of bombs and explosive charges, they are treated in accordance with the schedule appended to the Police Authority Law in the implementation of Article 110. What should be noted here is the paucity of the monthly compensation to police personnel, beginning with the first deputy minister and down to recruits and guards.

This was the point that al-Shishtawi was trying to raise when he demanded an objective review in order to make bold and decisive resolutions with the aim of increasing annuities and making them commensurate with the sacrifices the police personnel make or with the difficulties their families will encounter, since the term "martyr" is no longer sufficient for survival in contemporary life.

Former Interior Minister Discusses Police Role *93AF0338C Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 11 Dec 92 p 3*

[Article by 'Isam al-'Ubaydi: "Looking for Revenge! Recent Confrontations Have Kindled Revenge Between Security and Extremists"]

[Text] Every day we have been reading on the front pages of the newspapers about the killings and terrorism occurring between the security forces and the Islamic groups in Upper Egypt.

For several years these bloody conflicts have been centered in Upper Egypt, specifically in the Governorates of Asyut and Qina. These two governorates have experienced the highest rates of revenge crimes and feuds among tribes and families. Crimes of revenge in these two governorates are distinct from revenge crimes in Egypt's other governorates because of their "mass" aspect. In other words, it is customary in all Egypt's governorates for the family of a victim to kill the killer or a member of the killer's family: "one for one." But in these two governorates, the family of the victim may kill the killer or a member of his family, but most of the time they will fire random bullets at members of the other

family or tribe, leading to the death of several people. In this case, the other family will resort to getting their revenge, too, by striking several members of the first family. This is how the bloody cycle of revenge continues, without limits.

Given the fact that the blood feuds that have sprung up between the police and extremists have been centered in these governorates, there is now a view that what is going on between the police and the extremists in Upper Egypt is a different type of revenge. Instead of the feud breaking out between individuals and the police agency as a whole, with each of the terrorists, the police have killed a terrorist's brother or one of his relatives or friends, or at least tortured him or one of his friends. That is why they do what they are now doing. Proponents of this view cite the instance of what happened after the murder two years ago of Dr. 'Ala' Muhi-al-Din, the official spokesman of the Islamic group in al-Talibiyah. The Islamic groups immediately issued a fiery statement in which they accused the police of murdering 'Ala' and swore to avenge his killing. Indeed, only a few days later the group laid a trap to assassinate Major General 'Abd-al-Halim Musa, the interior minister. God willed that the minister be saved and that the late Speaker of the People's Assembly Rif'at al-Mahjub fall into their claws. This is how the members of the group kept their promise and avenged their victim; they also asserted that the police and no one else killed him.

Wish for Revenge

Thus we have seen how the "wish for revenge" has ruled the group's behavior and has, indeed, committed its crimes. On the role of the wish for revenge in what is happening now in Upper Egypt between Security and the Islamic groups, there are others who see no such wish in what the Upper Egyptian groups are doing. They support their view by saying: "If we say that the cause of what is now happening between the security forces and the groups is revenge, then is there any vendetta between these groups and the tourists?" On this point we polled a number of experts and others involved in the issue.

Major General Ahmad Rushdi, a former interior minister, believes that "the recent operations and the confrontations between security men and the extremists in Upper Egypt have undoubtedly deepened the sense of revenge between the police and the people and the families of the dead and wounded," and that "Major General 'Abd-al-Halim Musa disagrees with me in this; he thinks there is no vendetta between Security and these groups. In general," said Major General Ahmad Rushdi, "I hope that this sense, this sense of revenge, does not exist between any citizen and Security. I hope every citizen is aware that every policeman is an Egyptian citizen, too, and is responsible for the safety and security of every citizen.

"We have seen the humaneness of the police exemplified in the actions of the martyred 'Ali Khatir, who was killed at the hands of a terrorist protected by his children. He was using them as a shield. When the martyr Khatir and

his colleagues refused to open fire on him, so that they would not harm the children in any way, the terrorist fired the bullets that ended the martyr's life.

"I am taking this opportunity, in the pages of your AL-WAFD newspaper, to appeal to every citizen to cooperate with Security, so that security and stability will prevail in the country.

"I told Major General Ahmad Rushdi, 'Does your belief in the existence of the spirit of revenge between the extremists and the policemen mean that the policemen were the ones the first ones to use violence, and that the groups are the ones pursuing the vendetta and seeking revenge?'

"He said, 'No, the police were never the first to use violence. All the police are doing is confronting violence. We have always seen that the police never fire a bullet unless bullets are flying over their heads. The right to legitimate self-defense in this instance leads them to exchange fire with the extremists, and there are casualties on both sides!'

Groundless Excuses

Major General Nabawi Isma'il, a former Interior Minister, differed with Major General Ahmad Rushdi on the existence of a wish for revenge in these bloody exchanges between Security and the extremists. He said that the extremists were trying to say that as a kind of groundless excuse to justify their crimes against the police, to say that it was the police that started hostilities, and that they were only responding to this hostility. This was a groundless and futile pretext, because the police work in the context of legitimacy and enforcing the law, on the basis of the legitimate right of self-defense. They are trying to do their duty, confronted by terrorists firing bombs and machine guns at them. Should the policemen stand with their hands tied? Of course not. Not long ago the police faced adversaries with pocket knives, cloth, and various forms of cold steel, and the police used firearms only rarely; now that have to deal with having bombs and bullets fired at them, how are they supposed to act?

The only explanation for all these groups have done, is that they are trying to terrorize anyone who stands in their way—police, intellectuals, or writers, as was the case with Faraj Fudah and Makram Muhammad Ahmad. What vendetta exists between them and tourists?

Major General Yahya al-Bahansawi, the Governor of Qina, said:

"I do not believe this revenge story, because the extremists' attacks have not ended with security men, but have gone on against tourists, our Coptic brothers, and others. For our part, we try to make people aware so that they will not fall into the claws of the terrorists. As for explaining what is happening, the terrorists themselves wonder."

Police Claim 'Quick' Confessions, No Torture*93AF0336C Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
21 Dec 92 p 25*

[Article by 'Abd-al-Sattar al-Tawilah: "Why Are Terrorists Confessing Without Torture"]

[Text] What is interesting in the major new campaign against radical terrorists is that there is no talk whatsoever of complaints of torture or humiliation of detainees. Rather, what is reported openly is the pictures of defendants being referred to the prosecution for interrogation no more than 24 hours after their arrest.

Whenever a terrorist is arrested, he willingly leads the authorities to more of his brothers and offers confession after confession. Shaykh Jabir, the amir of Imbabah, moves in the company of the police daily to lead them to his brothers here and there.

Everything goes on without any torture. An individual I trust completely told me that as soon as a terrorist is arrested and has a quick talk with the police, conducted at times in sarcastic language, he proceeds to make one confession after another. The only thing that is a subject of complaint and observation is that the jails, detention camps, and police station prisons are overcrowded.

What is the significance of the absence of torture and of the complaint of torture, and why has it disappeared?

The main reason is, in my assessment, that the terrorists have realized the angry popular wave that opposes them. This has played a major role in their collapse as soon as they are arrested. The terrorists have seen their calls and their activities end in abysmal failure, and people who had imagined that the terrorists were devoted to leading people along the path of right guidance are enraged and angry and wish to kill them. Upon his arrest, each terrorist has felt isolated from the people and realized that he is defending a losing cause for which he is not going to be viewed as a martyr. Hence the collapse. The angry and wrathful wave against terrorists and terrorism is a result of the fact that the government has conducted a very minor rehearsal of what we and others have demanded in the years since terrorism erupted, namely the mobilization of the masses and their involvement in the battle against terrorism. The government has not yet opened the door for this mobilization and for the masses' march. It has given terrorists and their supporters just a sample of what the masses can offer. The fact is that if the government responded to what we advocate, the majority of the Egyptian people would have turned into rocket launchers, seeking to wipe out the terrorists completely. The myth by which political Islam, both moderate and radical, imagines that it is supported by the people because of the economic hardship they are experiencing will evaporate totally, and the Egyptian people's true belief will materialize in the principle that faith belongs to God and country belongs to all, or, to put it very briefly and frankly, the principle of the separation of church and state.

This belief has been effaced because the government and its security agencies have overlooked the radicals' activities and kept silent about them for so long that radicals came to control independent "republics" within the country. Because these false missionaries were given a free hand to control mosques, radio, and television, because all democratic elements—even enlightened Islamic elements—were excluded from these institutions for many years, and because the government appeased this tendency and made daily concessions to it, there came a time when any school principal, male or female, could establish an "Islamic state" to his own liking at his school!

Moreover, numerous People's Assembly members and members of the ruling party itself have colluded with this religious political tendency, beginning with its economic base, which is embodied in investment companies, and ending with its backward ideas on this nation's future.

The second reason for the absence of complaint about torture comes from the police themselves. Seeing that the terrorists are vying with each other to make confessions and provide information, the police have found no need to pressure them. The police have also realized that any torture will cause the courts to ultimately reject the confessions that were made. Moreover, the door is open to all human rights organizations to expose any torture, and any such torture will cause the struggle against radicalism and terrorism to lose its value, particularly because the door of information is open to the entire world, thanks to the relative freedom in Egypt.

In a related development, the people's support for the police in their holy war against terrorism has filled every policeman's heart with confidence in himself and his work. Consequently, he no longer sees any need to resort to extraordinary methods with detainees.

The people are volunteering information and supporting police raids on the [radicals'] centers. At funerals, people yell at the police, demanding that terrorists be wiped out and viewing the victims as martyrs killed in the battle for the security and stability of the people themselves.

A high-ranking police officer mentioned another element to me, saying, "We know in advance that a large-scale campaign like this will result in the arrest of some innocent people. This is why we conduct a swift sorting process, so such people are released promptly. This is also why the police are reluctant to pressure and harm the detained, some of whom could be innocent. We, that is, the police, want to know the true details about the terrorists' organizations and places so as to establish their culpability and wipe them out. This is why accusing the innocent will not accomplish the goal."

Another reason is that there is magnificent cooperation and coordination among the security agencies, without any sensitivity or rancor. This is why an abundance of information is available, thus making it possible to pin down any defendant who can then do nothing but confess, and even expose his colleagues.

We have said before that eradicating terrorism can be accomplished and can make progress with the people's support for the security agencies.

Now that it has partially embraced this course, the government has freed itself of the conventional charge of torture, persecution, and human rights violations. We hope that the government will persist because the people are the life buoy that rescues it from every danger.

Police Research Center Calls for Dialogue

93AF0338A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
14 Dec 92 p 18

[Article by Wafa' Sh'irah]

[Text] A study by the Police Research Center on legislative confrontation of the terrorism problem has concluded that the legislative solution is insufficient to end the problem; there must be other solutions and methods.

A second study by the center asserted that there are political factors that have helped bring about terrorism, among them the absence of a meaningful dialogue between the government and various groups, plus the corruption that has spread in the wake of the open door economic policy.

The center's study states that "extremism grew as an expression of its rejection of the status quo," adding that "the failure of the official religious establishment to guide and direct extremist religious tendencies has led to the consolidation of extremism, especially because those who are undertaking to teach religion are not in earnest."

In closing, the report mentioned that strength and weakness in confronting terrorism were not a solution; they would lead the extremist groups to hide underground and induce them to resort to secret actions, helping their growth and increasing their hostility toward society and state institutions.

Major General Mahir Jamal-al-Din, director of the Police Research Center called for an intellectual dialogue with various extremist factions, and appealed to these groups for true counsel. "We must review economic policies," he said, "fight those with parasitic incomes, protect public funds, and find job opportunities for youth so that we may confront extremism scientifically."

Tourism Losses, Cancellations Discussed

93AF0343C Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY
in English 2 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by Umaymah Abd-al-Latif: "Too Important To Be Harmed"]

[Text] Despite recent attacks on tourists, officials and those involved in the tourism industry are confident that the problems are temporary.

Tourism Minister Fu'ad Sultan said that the number of tourists visiting Egypt has declined following the terrorist attacks in southern Egypt, with many travel agencies suffering from cancellations.

Tour conductors put the cancellations at 30 per cent and warned they could rise to 50 per cent by the beginning of 1993. But the tourism industry could recover if stability prevails in the south of the country and no further terrorist attacks take place, the conductors said.

Sultan, Interior Minister Abd-al-Halim Musa and Mufti of the Republic Shaykh Sayyid Tantawi, spoke Monday night at a seminar organised by the Egyptian-German Friendship Society in coordination with the Friedrich-Naumann Foundation, which is supported by the German government. The theme was promoting "safe and secure tourism in Egypt."

Sultan said that tourism had witnessed a big boom during the past four months, between July and October, and but for the recent attacks a bumper season had been expected. "When tourism began to play a key role in the country's economy, they (Islamist militants) decided to shoot the economy in the foot by launching such attacks," Sultan said.

The tourism industry provides 450,000 jobs and its revenue accounts for 10 per cent of the national income. "If tourism is ruined, this will simply mean that the man who is selling mineral water, for example, will not find bread to feed his family," Sultan said. "The money coming from tourism makes the living of no less than 10 million Egyptians. This is why Egyptians stand against terrorism and for the first time cooperate with police to arrest the criminals in Qina."

Interior Minister Musa said police forces faced the dilemma of tightening security precautions in southern Egypt without putting the tourists on edge. "Tourists come to have a good time, away from all kinds of tension. So, seeing a soldier with a machine gun next to him, or security vehicles accompanying his tour bus, would not make him comfortable but probably destroy his feeling of safety," Musa said.

Musa said that nine terrorist attacks in southern Egypt resulted in the death of one tourist and the injury of several others. "The attackers made confessions in the police interrogation that they carried out these attacks in order to embarrass the government and also because they believe that tourism is against Islamic law (shari'ah)," Musa said. But he pointed out that religious leaders have made it clear that tourism is not sinful. "These naive justifications would only prove the narrow-mindedness of these criminals," he said.

Samir Halawa, board chairman of Misr Travel, the national travel agency, said: "We can't deny the serious effects these attacks have had on the market. We have not reached a critical point yet, but measures should be taken before it is too late."

Halawa said his agency received cancellations amounting to 30 per cent during the past two weeks and that no new bookings had been made for the new year.

According to Nadir Sami of TST, his company operates mainly in the British and French markets and both were also hard hit by the attacks. "The drop may reach 50 per cent by the beginning of 1993," Sami said.

Sami said the cancellations covered the period between 12 November—the date of the attack on the German tourist bus—and next February. Even Cairo-Aswan bus trips had to be cancelled for security reasons and tourists are advised to travel from Luxor to Hurghada by plane to avoid using the highway, he said.

The Italian market, however, was only slightly affected. "November is usually a low period for Italian tourism in Egypt," said Rallo, the head of a leading travel agency operating in Egypt for the past 20 years. "The important thing is that nothing should happen again because any incident, however trivial, will be front page news."

Rallo whose agency brings more than 10,000 tourists to Egypt every year, said "1992 was going very well until the end of October. This country is respected a lot but the recent events came as a serious blow. Tourism is far too important to Egypt to allow it to be harmed."

A tour guide in a Germany-based travel agency, believes tourism may pick up again by next February "on condition that nothing goes wrong and no incidents (of violence) take place." She explained that the German market is very sensitive "when it comes to terrorist attacks against civilians."

But Germans are confident that things will be back to normal. "My clients send me faxes asking for an explanation of the situation. Most of them just wanted to put off their trips but never thought of cancelling," she said.

Rauf Ghali, head of the tourist agencies chamber at the Ministry of Tourism, drew a comparison between the situation now and that which prevailed during the 1990 Gulf crisis.

At the seminar organised by the Egyptian-German Friendship Society, Dr. Mahmud Sharif, Minister of Local Government, expressed concern for the "unfair" coverage provided by the Western media. "When you read their newspapers, you get the feeling that extremists are about to take over the country, which is untrue and groundless by all means."

The Mufti, Shaykh Sayyid Tantawi, and Anba Samuel, a bishop of the Coptic Orthodox Church, said all Egyptians, Muslim and Christian, were opposed to attacks that sabotage the economy and cause the death of innocent civilians. "No religion could possibly approve of such criminal activities," the Mufti said.

Al-Azhar Issues Statement on Tourism

93AF0332B Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 2 Dec 92 p 8

[Article: "Statement From Conference of al-Azhar Scholars: Tourists Are Guests of the Egyptian People and Must Be Treated With All Generosity, Courtesy, and Helpfulness"]

[Text] There have recently been many criminal attacks on foreign tourists, and even Egyptians have not escaped injury. The Conference of Islamic Scholars, desiring to keep up with events, perform its duty of imparting God's word and explaining the precept of Islamic Law concerning new events and problems on the scene, and remove the legal confusion that surrounds many problems, broadcasts this statement to the nation. We hope its content will illuminate the path for certain beloved young people of ours whose sincere desire to serve Islam and Muslims, we realize, but who have been beguiled by ideas alien to Islam. Slogans that have taken them far from the straight path have led them astray and made them enemies of their nation, religion, and Lord. Above all, these ideas have made them enemies of themselves.

We desire that these children of ours may correct themselves, remove the blindfold of error from their eyes, and adhere to the straight path, and so the Conference of Islamic Scholars broadcasts the following statement:

First, tourism in itself is not objectionable. Tourists who come to our country, Egypt, come to us at the invitation of officials. Thus, they are guests of Egypt and of all individuals or groups in Egypt. As such, they deserve to be treated as guests: not because of the generosity, courtesy, and helpfulness for which Egyptians have been known throughout history, especially toward those who come to them as guests, but because the noble shari'ah commands this. Islamic law considers them to be protected non-Muslims [ahl dhimmah]. They are under the protection of Muslims from the time they set foot on Egyptian soil until the time they leave. They have a compact and covenant that is binding on every Muslim. By virtue of this compact and covenant, Muslims must protect them from harm. No evil must befall their persons, property, or dignity. Moreover, Muslims are obliged to prevent harm from befalling them at the hands of others, if at all possible.

Ancient and modern scholars concur that when a person enters Islamic territory at the invitation of an individual or a group, however lowly that individual or group, the Islamic community is obliged to receive, care for, and protect that person until he leaves the abode of Muslims. Our Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) made this clear by saying: "Every Muslim life is of equal value; the least of Muslims strives to uphold their [common] obligation, and they act together against others." In other words, when the least and lowliest Muslim promises safety to a non-Muslim and invites him to Islamic territory, that person becomes a guest of the Muslims and is entitled to protection from all Muslims. He may not be harmed or attacked in person,

property, or dignity. Anyone who violates this and attacks a foreigner has violated God's law and departed from the precepts of Islam. He has violated the injunction of the Messenger of God and the consensus of ancient and modern scholars.

Second, tourism is an important source of national income in Egypt. Egypt is passing through difficult economic circumstances that make it necessary to encourage tourism and guarantee the safety of tourists' lives, property, and dignity. This can happen only if we do not harm them and if we work to protect them from harm at the hands of others.

Third, Egypt is a Muslim country—indeed, the largest Arab Muslim country. Here stands noble al-Azhar, which for more than 1,000 years has stood as a fortress and bulwark of Islam. Al-Azhar has remained the authentic source from which Muslims from every corner of the world have drawn religious learning and the precepts of the shari'ah. Delegations from Islamic lands have come to drink of its learning and return to their countries as messengers of learning, knowledge, and religion.

However, Egypt also has customs, traditions, and practices, all drawn from Islam.

In such a country, it is unseemly that tourists be left to do as they like indiscriminately. Government officials must oblige them to respect the country's religion, traditions, and practices.

Let no one jump to the conclusion that we advocate forcing God's law on them. We know that they are not Muslims and that they are not bound to the details of the shari'ah. However, their being non-Muslims does not mean that their deportment, behavior, and actions should be an attack on religion, morals, and values.

Fourth, Egypt's archaeological sites far exceed in number the sites in any other country or in all the countries of the world. Tourists from throughout the world cannot resist the magic and attraction of these sites. They are prepared to see these sites at any cost. This makes it very possible for Muslims to oblige tourists to adhere to regulations and laws that create respect for the religion, values, and traditions of our fair land.

Fifth, our difficult economic circumstances and need for income cannot justify our sacrificing our religion or jettisoning our values and traditions. We catch the contagion of corruption and vice that infects our community not from tourism in itself, but from neglecting to impose on tourists the minimum of discipline that will guard religion, values, and morals.

Finally, we repeat that the issue of what regulations need to exist in the area of tourism and tourists is an internal matter that we shall discuss among ourselves. We may agree or disagree on this, but it is not the affair of tourists. No harm will come to them inside our country from this disagreement. Whatever the views of those who debate this issue, tourists remain the beneficiaries

of an obligation, promise, and covenant that is binding on every Muslim in this country. It remains every Muslim's duty under Islamic law to refrain from harming them and to prevent harm to them at the hands of others, if at all possible. The precept of the shari'ah remains clear. It states that anyone who stretches forth his hand to harm or injure them is a criminal. And God knows the intentions of men.

For the conference: Dr. Mahmud Mazru'ah
Dr. Ahmad al-Rayyan
Dr. Mahmud Himayah

Islamic Scholars Reject Mufti's Stance on Tourists

93AF0335B Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 3 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Mahmud al-Khawli]

[Text] Dr. Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi declared before the Culture, Information, and Tourism Committee in the People's Assembly last week that there is no prohibition against the importation of alcohol for consumption by foreigners or against licenses for gambling casinos [mawa'id]. In his remarks, which were in response to questions posed by members of the People's Assembly and which were published in all of the state-run newspapers, the mufti said: "There is nothing wrong with companies that import alcohol to offer to tourists. The state-licensed gambling clubs in hotels are not detrimental, as long as the tourists who patronize them do not violate the country's laws and stay within the bounds of its religious beliefs." The mufti said that religion should not be dragged into tourism matters.

AL-NUR presented the mufti's statements to a number of Muslim religious scholars to give them an opportunity to state their views candidly and explain the facts to the people.

'The Importation of Alcohol Is Forbidden'

Dr. 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Adwa, a professor of Islamic jurisprudence at al-Azhar University, said: "God has absolutely forbidden alcohol to Muslims. His noble Prophet explained that God made 10 utterances regarding alcohol that apply to one who sells it, buys it, purveys it, receives it, drinks it, gives it as drink, etc., as stated in the Prophetic tradition [i.e., the narrative relating deeds and utterances of the Prophet and his companions].

Therefore, Muslims must adhere to what God has commanded and to what his noble Prophet enjoined. Muslims must fear God regarding what he has forbidden them and not transgress this commandment. Therefore, according to the text of the noble Prophetic tradition, are not Muslim companies forbidden to import alcohol and offer it to tourists? As for non-Muslim companies, which are not bound by Islamic laws and which import alcohol because they do not profess Islam, the teaching of God's

Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, namely, 'forsake them because they do not profess,' applies to them all."

Major Sin

Regarding the permitting and licensing of the establishment of gambling casinos in public-sector hotels that are owned and managed by the state to the state's benefit, Dr. al-'Adwa said that "we must not be remiss regarding what God has forbidden us and permit others to do as they wish when their actions violate the commandments of the Islamic religion. A Muslim state that safeguards God's commandments and the canonical law of Islam must not perpetrate any of the acts forbidden by God. The mufti must speak the truth. There is no need for licensed gambling clubs. Their closure will not affect tourism income, as some claim, because tourists can gamble in their own countries. They do not come here to gamble. They come to see our civilization, to see our Islamic, Coptic, and pharaonic antiquities. They do not have it in mind to come to Egypt to drink alcohol or gamble."

'There Is No Blessing In It'

Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Isa, a former minister of religious endowments, objects to the mufti's religious ruling, saying that "whoever is bent on falsehood is blameworthy and whoever imports alcohol, even if it is for non-Muslims, is sinful according to religious law. However, his sin is not like the sin of one who drinks it. If he brings alcohol here with the intent of obtaining profit in such sectors as the tourism sector, the money thereby obtained is unlawful. There is no blessing in it. Hell is better than anything that stems from unlawful money."

'I Do Not Agree With the Mufti'

Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid Matlub, a professor and chairman of the Shari'ah Department at 'Ayn Shams University Law School, reacts by saying: "I would never agree to the mufti's statements regarding the importation of alcohol and the facilitation and propagation of gambling casinos in state-run hotels, because condoning and permitting them is a major sin."

Dr. Matlub emphasized that a Muslim state is not permitted to facilitate the establishment and licensing of commercial establishments to sell alcohol on the argument that doing so will stimulate tourism. "If the law permits that, it is a defective law that must be revised."

Dr. 'Abd-al-Jalil Shalabi, the dean of the Institute for the Preparation of Islamic Missionaries, said that Islamic law prohibits the importation and sale of alcohol, even if it is for non-Muslims, because allowing the importation and sale of alcohol would offer a pretext to be learned by Muslims, as well.

Shalabi asked: "How a religious ruling can be made to the effect that alcohol and its importation by the state are not forbidden by Islamic law? How can it be said that

permitting gambling casinos is not detrimental to Muslims? Whoever permits them is absolutely a sinner."

Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Azzam, a professor of Islamic jurisprudence at al-Azhar University, said he disapproves of the religious ruling made by the mufti of the republic. "We do not condone the importation of alcohol and the licensing of gambling casinos, whether for foreigners or others, because these matters violate Islamic law and its stated prohibition against alcohol of all types. A Muslim must not permit himself or another to facilitate the importation of alcohol, adopting the state's approval as an expedient to distribute and sell alcohol."

Leaders and Responsibility

'Ali 'Id, the chairman of the Association of Muslim Youths at Sirs al-Layyanah, emphasized that God's Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, did not approve of this principle for his nation. In a prophetic saying: "The Prophet says: 'Two classes exist among my people, the ulema [theologians and experts in canonical law] and the leaders. If they reconcile, the people reconcile. If they become corrupt, the people become corrupt.'"

He added that this prophetic saying clarifies to us that the nation's ulema and leaders bear primary responsibility for corruption, "because the ulema are the most knowledgeable about their religion's principles, the Lord's commandments, and their prophet's sunnah [the Prophet's sayings and deeds later established as legally binding precedents], and because the leaders are responsible for implementing the ulema's guidelines. If one of the two sides falls short, corruption befalls the entire nation. The prohibition against alcohol is clear. Our leaders have learned that religion forbids it to the people. If these ruling leaders fail to enforce this prohibition, they bring corruption upon their nation."

Islamic missionary 'Ali 'Id continued: "It is strange that some argue that imported alcohol concerns foreigners living among us. If drugs were being imported, would those drugs be permitted on the same argument?"

He added: "The persistence of alcohol and gambling casinos and these confrontations and wars which have been imposed on us can be attributed to the shortcoming of the instruments for enforcing the law, namely our leaders. This is what brings corruption to the nation's body. I could never excuse one who permits this based on illusory arguments, even though it is intended for foreigners. These foreigners must respect the nation's sentiments and religion, rather than working to destroy them by creating inlets for corruption. The nation's ulema must truly fear God regarding the religious judgments which they render."

'I Do Not Believe It!'

Dr. Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad (al-Musayyir), a professor at al-Azhar University said: "I do not believe the mufti's statements published by the newspapers

regarding the lack of a prohibition against the importation of alcohol by several companies and the licensing of gambling casinos in state-run hotels!"

Dr. al-Musayyir added: "It is well known that Islamic law states that alcohol in the possession of a zimmi [a non-Muslim living in a Muslim country] is the property of that zimmi, who is not forbidden to drink it, whether he produced it for himself or purchased it from another zimmi. However, Islamic law prohibits a Muslim from offering, producing, or importing alcohol for a Muslim or non-Muslim. This applies to Muslim individuals and governments.

"Therefore, an Islamic state is not permitted to purchase, produce, or import alcohol. The same applies to the licensing of gambling casinos, because no Islamic state is permitted to establish that which is forbidden."

The Constitution and Reality

Dr. al-Shafi'i Abu-Ra's, the dean of the Law School at al-Zaqaziq University, Banha campus, said: "The law in effect, which was promulgated before the constitutional amendment, requires that the shari'ah be a primary source of legislation. The law permits the importation of alcohol and its use in designated places determined on the basis of the claim that they are patronized for the most part by non-Muslim foreigners. This legislation continues to remain in effect until now. However, the constitutional amendment of 1980, which made the shari'ah a source of legislation, is a directive provision that requires the legislature to amend laws to make them conform with the provisions of the shari'ah.

"Inasmuch as the shari'ah forbids alcohol and gambling under a general, comprehensive prohibition that covers the production, sale, serving, and drinking of alcohol, and all that pertains to alcohol, as stated by the Prophetic tradition, 'God has cursed grape pressers, purveyors of alcohol, those who drink it, and those to whom it is purveyed,' the importation of alcohol in any state or stage by different companies in an Islamic state, such as Egypt, is forbidden."

Shortcomings in Antiterrorism Efforts Listed

93AF0343B Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY
in English 2 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Salama A. Salama: "The Battle Against Extremism"]

[Text] The Egyptian Government is going into battle against extremism and extremists, and a fierce battle it is going to be. It makes no sense to describe it as "religious" or "Islamic" extremism, because if one thing is certain it is that what we are dealing with here is criminal, terrorist behaviour lacking any kind of systematic thinking based on clear political, social or ethical objectives.

However, the strategy adopted by the government for combating terrorism and extremism is open to criticism on a number of points, which I would list as follows:

First, the government has not yet managed to make the distinction between these terrorist elements and the trend known as political Islam. On the contrary, it lumps them both together and treats them both in the same way. It has thus given these outlaws a kind of religious legitimacy which they do not deserve, and provided them with a firm basis for their activities and social work in some of Egypt's most poverty-stricken, ignorant and far-flung communities. The government's failure to isolate these elements has enabled them to find protection and support within families, communities or sometimes political parties.

Second, the way the government has focused on the existence of outside funding and training for these people has given them an international influence and relevance they would not otherwise have had, and turned them into a phenomenon that is attracting attention at home and abroad and prompting a reexamination of foreign Islamic tendencies and regimes that like to think they can extend their influence into the region.

Little wonder, then, that foreign newspapers like the British INDEPENDENT are so keen to track down Shaykh 'Umar Abd-al-Rahman in the United States and to interview him in New York, portraying him as a major religious figure, a leading imam. No one has yet explained to us by the way, how it is that Shaykh 'Umar has managed to stay so long in the United States with the official approval of the American authorities.

Third, the announcements that have been repeated so often lately concerning the existence of training camps in neighbouring Arab countries have offered us no clue as to the real motives of these countries for pursuing such unbrotherly policies towards Egypt. Both of the neighbouring countries concerned, Libya and Sudan, are bound by close ties with Egypt, and it is hard to understand how the Egyptian authorities can be unable either to liquidate these camps, or else, if necessary, to resort to countermeasures of the same kind, or at least to reveal the location of the camps and present public opinion in Egypt and abroad with conclusive evidence and proof of their existence.

Fourth, leaving the security authorities to tackle the terrorism problem by security and police methods alone will not achieve anything so long as public opinion and the general populace continue to be excluded from playing an active part in the campaign against extremism. This will only come about if there is complete frankness about the facts, without unsubstantiated accusations floating about, or a search for scapegoats whose true role in the matter is hard to verify. Besides which, the need to take a new political approach is now becoming pressing.

Fifth, maybe Iran does have a hand in affairs in the Gulf area, and maybe it does, through Hizballah, play a role in Lebanon, given the Shiite presence in both places. But it is stretching credulity to be looking for the causes of

extremism and terrorism in remote villages and hamlets like Hujayrat, Sanabu and Bani Murr among the government of mullahs in Iran. There has not been sufficient evidence of this, and even if such evidence existed there would have to be some greater power behind Iran, using it as a pawn.

These loopholes and contradictions stand in need of correction, so that the battle against extremism does not backfire to become a problem for the government, to roll back democracy and freedom, and to widen unnecessarily the extent of the confrontation.

Jailed Extremists 'Direct' Terrorist Action

93AF0333D Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
2 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by 'Ali al-Dali]

[Text] A security official said that the criminals who opened fire on the tourist bus in Qina received their orders from Badr Makhluḥ, the group leader who is now in jail in Turrah and who now stands accused in 20 cases, including attacks on police and tourists.

The defendants said in their confessions after their arrest that the first suspect, Ashraf Sa'id, who recruited the four criminals, acted at Badr Makhluḥ's instructions from jail. It is one of the strangest thing for one to be in jail and yet remain leader of a gang of bandits who make no move without his orders and do not fire a bullet without a hand signal from him.

Have Egyptian prisons become a center for the direction of terrorism? For example, we read in the papers that al-Jihad Organization leadership sends its instructions to the organization from behind bars. It directs the terrorist movement from inside the jail. We also read that 'Abbud al-Zamr is in constant contact with the organization in his capacity as leader of the organization's military wing. Al-Zamr sends out political statements from jail to be printed in the organization's magazine, which is published in Peshawar on the border with Afghanistan, where senior Egyptian al-Jihad Organization leaders reside.

Al-Zamr and Safwat 'Abd-al-Ghani, who is with al-Zamr, are competing over the military leadership while they are in jail. In the meantime, Egypt's blind Khomayni lives, moves, and conspires in the United States. He is in the lap of Jewish Masonry and maintains contact with those in jail. How?

Terrorism behind bars. Terrorism leadership in Egypt is not that which is only outside jail. The most dangerous terrorists are those inside jail. They have the freedom to write messages and send out orders to kill and demolish. These messages and orders are sent out from jail easily. The matter calls for putting this question to every official responsible for jails where terrorist leaders are serving their sentences.

How does contact take place with terrorists outside prisons—in the United States or in Peshawar on the Afghanistan borders? It is said—and this is amazing—that dialogue is ongoing between terrorist leaders in Egyptian prisons, whose doors are wide open for them as if they were guest houses, and their colleagues in America, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Iran.

In fact, it was reported in ROSE AL-YUSUF magazine that a dispute broke out between the group's supreme leader, terrorist 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman, who is in the United States, and 'Abbud al-Zamr, the terrorist jailed in Turrah. The dispute is said to have been settled and that a conference will be held outside Egypt that will be attended by representatives of Egyptian terrorist groups in order to discuss operational issues, that is, "destroying Egypt." Terrorism has no issues other than this. Dialogue is continuing between the terrorist leaders in jail and those organizing and preparing for this strange conference.

We wonder: Have those who are concerned with the question of black terror in Egypt been unable to perceive all of this? Will silence continue to be maintained over the flow of terrorism from inside the jails to the outside, allowing this activity to develop into acts of killing tourists, destroying installations, and assassinating Egyptian notables, with all of this being done at the orders of terrorist leaders in jail? Why this issue is not put to an urgent debate? By this I mean the question of the open channels that carry the terrorists' orders, instructions, and plans from inside the jail to places in Egypt and beyond.

This has been confirmed by the press. ROSE AL-YUSUF has published information regarding contacts between al-Jihad Organization leadership inside jail and all the terrorist organizations in Egypt and abroad. It appears as if prison has become one of the terrorists' dens in Egypt.

It has been reported that instructions were issued from Egyptian prisons, where there is a large number of criminal killers from among the al-Jihad Organization's members. Such reports are both amazing and astonishing, because messages never cease to be exchanged between terrorists in Egyptian jails and terrorist branches in Egypt, Peshawar, the United States, Yemen, Sudan, and Iran.

This was clearly reported in some Egyptian papers and magazines. What is even more dangerous is that the criminal incidents that take place undermine stability in Egypt and threaten one of the nation's main source of income—tourism. Such incidents take place at the orders issued by the organizations. This should call for banning any visits to prisoners and any contacts outside their cell. Some of those who uphold democratic principles would ask: Is it human to deny a prisoner visits by relatives and friends?

I would tell them: Is it in any way human to allow these prisoners to issue instructions to their henchmen outside the prison in order to kill tourists, destroy the national

economy, and spread unemployment among thousands, indeed millions, of Egyptians who earn their living from the tourist industry?

Is it in any way human to allow these prisoners to issue their orders from inside jail to kill police officers and soldiers?

A criminal terrorist is not an ordinary prisoner. He is an enemy of his country, a spy for foreign forces, and an agent for a foreign schemes aimed at destroying Egypt and ruin its future. Therefore, out of our care for the country and the nation's interests, it is fully justifiable and consistent with our sense of nationalism to isolate every terrorist inside Egyptian jails from any outside source that enables him to come into contact with criminals outside prison. Isolate them completely. Put them in places far from inhabited areas. Put them in a jail far from populated areas and tighten their restrictions. Show no mercy to spies. Terrorism is encouraged; its activities are doubled, and its hopes are aroused for committing more crimes and destroying Egypt because of the slow procedures of the courts that try the defendants. Badr Makhluaf is now held in jail waiting to be tried on 20 terrorist charges against him. He has not yet been finally sentenced on any of these cases. He is still in jail issuing orders to kill tourists, and they are still being killed.

The terrorists who killed Rif'at al-Mahjub are still under trial despite the lapse of two years since the crime was committed. The criminals who killed Faraj Fudah are still under investigation and are still alive. Where is the swift punishment that deters terrorism and curbs its growth and deters the youngsters belonging to terrorist organizations? Only swift punishment can deter these people. Why do we try them before courts that are overloaded with cases? The trial of each one of them might take many years. This would only encourage terrorist organizations to commit more terrorist crimes.

Aren't their crimes extraordinary? Why are they being tried before ordinary courts? Or is it democracy or our misconception of democracy that impels us to treat them according to democratic standards? How?

Are they [the terrorists] democrats, and is their terror, with its bloody crimes, aimed at strengthening democracy?

Or, is it the destruction of democracy? The swift and immediate punishment of the criminals of terrorist organizations in Egypt is certainly a protection for democracy. Try to bring these traitors and agents to trial before field military courts. This is the only way terrorism can be eradicated.

Officials Expect 'Abd-al-Rahman Expulsion

93AF0332D London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 12 Dec 92 p 7

[Article: "Egyptian Sources Expect Expulsion of 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman From America"]

[Text] Cairo—Egyptian security forces are continuing their raid on the Imbaba district, with 560 extremists arrested as of yesterday morning. Meanwhile, two groups

of extremists attacked and set fire to two video clubs in the Imbaba area two nights ago, raising to seven the number of video clubs burned by extremists in the past three days.

AL-HAYAH has learned from security sources that American authorities are expected to issue a decision next month to expel Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, the commander of the al-Jihad organization, from the country, now that FBI investigations have established his involvement in "activities contrary to American policy."

Responsible security sources have told AL-HAYAH that the attacks on the two video stores caused their total destruction. The extremists used explosive charges and were able to flee.

After the two incidents, security forces combed Imbaba and arrested 47 extremists suspected of setting fire to the two clubs. A responsible security official stated that the number of extremists arrested has risen to 560. Some were released after they proved that they did not belong to terrorist organizations.

In a related matter, al-Jizah security forces found 10 explosive charges in the 'Abd-al-Rahman Mosque in Bulaq al-Dakrur while combing for terrorist dens. They also found quantities of explosives, bottles of incendiary fluid, and Molotov cocktails.

The police were able to apprehend a dangerous terrorist named 'Abd-al-Karim 'Abd-al-Jawad on al-Basrawi Street in Imbaba. In another house, they found an explosives factory and explosive and incendiary charges.

Two nights ago in Cairo, security forces arrested three extremists who fired shots inside two cinemas showing films from the Cairo Film Festival. The men were Muhammad Fathi Zaki Mustafa (age 20), Hanafi Zaki Hanafi Muhammad (age 21), and Muhammad 'Ali Hasan Ahmad (age 21).

AL-HAYAH has learned from informed security sources that Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, the commander of the al-Jihad organization, who lives in America, is preparing to appear before American judicial authorities on 9 January for questioning on the charge that he gave false information on the basis of which he was granted an entry visa into the country. AL-HAYAH has also learned that 'Abd-al-Rahman has summoned two of his closest aides in Egypt to defend him during the proceedings.

'Abd-al-Rahman, who is married to two Egyptian women, stated to American authorities that he was not married to any non-American woman. He also stated that he was not carrying on "any activity contrary to American policy" and that he was not in contact with "any foreign parties" related to his political activity. However, FBI investigations established that he has contacts with foreign parties hostile to the United States, including Iran, and that he is closely connected to the

international fundamentalist organization that aims at destabilizing certain Arab countries, particularly Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria.

Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 4 Dec 92 p 2



The same sources said that "the FBI took into account reports in Egypt that Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman was the sole funder of the recent terrorist operations by elements of al-Jihad against tourists in cities of Upper Egypt and that he was the author of the Islamic legal ruling that sanctioned the terrorizing and murder of foreign tourists. FBI investigations also showed that the al-Jihad commander was in contact with certain parties in Sudan, Afghanistan, and Lebanon who use Islamic fundamentalism as a cover for their actions aimed at inciting unrest in certain countries of the region."

Egyptian security sources expect "that at the end of the 'Abd-al-Rahman proceedings a decision will be issued that will terminate his residence in the United States and declare him persona non grata." They also expect "that 'Abd-al-Rahman will apply for the right of political asylum in the United States based on the laws that regulate the rights of foreigners and on the fact that he was being persecuted in Egypt because of his political views that oppose the ruling regime. However, the American authorities are expected to refuse to grant him this right."

The same sources said that "'Abd-al-Rahman discussed with his aides what country to move to if he were expelled from the United States. They finally decided on Britain, particularly its capital, London, as a more suitable alternative than any other place."

The sources added that "a number of reasons will make it difficult for 'Abd-al-Rahman to live in London. These include the concentration there of elements the oppose

the current Sudanese regime, given that 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman is considered one of the greatest supporters of that regime. He therefore could be exposed to possible harm, as happened to NIF [National Islamic Front] head Dr. Hasan al-Turabi in Canada, when an opponent of the 'Umar al-Bashir regime attacked and seriously wounded him. There is also an extradition agreement between Egypt and Britain under which Egyptian authorities could demand that Britain extradite 'Abd-al-Rahman, if he chooses London as a new place of residence. Thus, the only place to reside that the al-Jihad commander will find in the end is Sudan." This is according to informed security sources who told AL-HAYAH that "it will be difficult for 'Abd-al-Rahman to live in London, due to the presence there of dissident elements of his organization, or in Afghanistan, because of unstable security conditions there. It will also be difficult for him to live in Iran, which wants to avoid the charge that it is exporting its revolution to other countries."

In a related development, Egypt's minister of religious trusts, Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, attacked the extremist Islamic groups. He called for "confronting the Kharijites who are misusing [religious] truths to turn faithful Egypt into a country at odds with itself and who are turning the tolerant religion of Islam into a call for violence and terrorism." Speaking two evenings ago at the College of Letters of Alexandria University, he held that Egypt is passing through a dangerous turning point "because it is being subjected to a ruthless attack that has no support in the law."

Al-Ahrar Leader Reviews Causes of Terrorism

93AF0339B Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic
14 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mustafa Kamil Murad: "Political Conditions in Egypt"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the political developments occurring inside and outside Egypt require a complete reexamination of Egypt's method of political action, particularly because the country enjoys a degree of democracy and party pluralism that constitutes the broad base in which and through which the political conditions can be discussed and various proposals can be made to deal with the situation.

If we review the internal political developments to which we have referred, we will find the following:

- A constant rise in the prices of most goods and services, excluding some vegetables and fruits. This means greater hardship for citizens with limited incomes of less than 300 pounds a month. There are nearly 5 million such citizens employed by the government and the public sector, and half as many employed by the private sector. This means that nearly 8 million citizens out of a total of 10 millions working in the urban sector, or nearly 80 percent of Egypt's work force, feel the impact of this inflation, which affects their essential needs and causes them extreme hardship.

- Unemployment, which is so widespread among (university, higher institute, and intermediate institute) graduates since 1984 that the number of such graduates has exceeded 1 million skilled young people, plus 1 million unskilled people, meaning that there are nearly 2 million unemployed citizens. The Social Development Fund has not had an adequate impact on absorbing some of the unemployed workers. Therefore, this fund's effort must be boosted as much as possible in a practical way and far from bureaucracy.
- The salaries of those working in the sensitive government agencies, meaning the police and the judiciary, need to be reviewed completely and increased promptly.
- The rate of Employee salary increases, whether in the public or private sectors, is not keeping pace with the inflation rates of essential goods and services, such as electricity, water, and transportation.
- The overwhelming majority of unemployed youth come from poor families with a monthly income of less than 300 pounds. Consequently, the hardship of this unemployment is even more severe to those families who spent all their money to educate their children.
- The emergence of some terrorist groups and their attacks on tourists have affected tourist revenues tangibly, reducing them by more than 30 percent. If this condition continues, it will cause result in a loss of no less than \$1 billion, or three billion pounds, in tourist revenues each year. If we add to this the costs of eliminating traces of the earthquake, which will amount to 4 billion pounds, it becomes obvious that the drop in government resources will amount to 7 billion pounds, which is the equivalent of 15 percent of the state general budget, which already suffers from a 5 percent deficit.
- Local council elections have demonstrated that the citizens are disinclined to perform their electoral duty, considering that no more than 10 percent the voters have participated and that government interference in some districts has been flagrant.
- The educated Islamic tendency has achieved obvious success in the professional (engineers, doctors, lawyers) union councils.

As a result of these developments, the government has taken the following steps:

First, considering an amendment to the political parties law to add some provisions that prohibit members of dissolved groups from joining or forming parties.

Second, amending the trade unions law to resist the Islamic tendency in union councils by adding to this law an article that permits the government to form the councils if less than 50 percent the members of a union's general assembly fail to participate.

Third, intensifying police raids in some districts where Islamic groups focus their activities and where some foreign terrorists are found.

Fourth, amending some laws governing litigation procedures and the penal code to enable the government to accelerate court decisions on terrorist cases. This is in addition to the emergency law and the amendments the government has introduced to some laws, thus giving the police and the public prosecutor greater powers.

This is the internal situation in Egypt, and these are its main features and problems. And these are the government actions, which amount to no more than administrative procedures and legal amendments that enable the government to tighten its grip on the unions and strengthen its ability to confront radicalism and terrorism. In our opinion, this is not the right way to confront such radicalism. The right way is to launch dialogue between the ruling party and the other political parties and to eliminate the current alienation so that both government and opposition will not experience frustrations that will only make things more complex. Will the government listen to advice so that these developments can be confronted, or will it follow the hard path alone?

Al-Ahrar Panel Discusses Political Islam

93AF0339A Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 14 Dec 93 p 6

[Article by Hanan Muhammad: "Al-Ahrar Party Panel on Future of Islam in Egypt"]

[Excerpts] Last Tuesday, the al-Ahrar [Liberal] Party conducted a panel titled "Islam's Future in Egypt" at its headquarters. The panel had Mustafa Mashhur, the Muslim Brotherhood deputy general, as its guest, and it was attended by Mustafa Kamil Murad, al-Ahrar party chairman; 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Shurbaji, party secretary general; Muhammad Farid Zakariya, party commissioner; and a large number of party members, politicians, and clergymen.

Al-Ahrar Chairman Mustafa Kamil Murad said:

"We are living at the end of time. Now that the small signs have materialized, we are awaiting the big signs. This is the opinion of numerous ulema. Even if I believe in this opinion, God has said in His venerable book: "We have, without doubt, sent down the Message; and We will assuredly guard it (from corruption)" [Koran 15:9]. This guarding does not mean, in my opinion, simply guarding the words and verses of the Koran as they have been revealed. It also means guarding Islam's program as revealed in God's venerable book. God will accomplish this program, but not overnight. God has to test his servants and give them the opportunity to embrace the means [to pass His test]. This testing comes through ordeals. I went through a personal ordeal when my youngest daughter died two months ago. I endured patiently, recalling that God tested our prophet Muhammad, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, with

the death of his five sons in his lifetime. God has afflicted us with a huge ordeal these days—the ordeal of an earthquake that lasted just 50 seconds. But in that brief time, the ordeal exposed deception in everything. It exposed cheating in construction, graft, corruption, and many other things. We have found cheating everywhere. God has promised the Jews: "If ye revert (to your sins), We shall revert (to Our punishment)" [Koran 17:8]. What this means is that as long as there is injustice and there is corruption, God, the almighty avenger, will afflict us with ordeals. If we do not awaken from our condition, then God is capable of visiting another catastrophe upon us."

Principles of Islam

Shaykh Mustafa Mashhur then took the floor, saying: "Despite the long night of injustice and darkness, I wish to revive hope in our hearts. The future belongs to Islam. The West and the United States will collapse as Russia has collapsed. If we adopt the means, results will be produced." [passage omitted]

Dry Up the Sources

Mustafa Mashhur added that the "enemies of Islam have planned to dry the sources that nurture Islam. Egypt played a role in repelling the Tatars and the Crusades, and al-Azhar sent missionaries to many countries. So they sabotaged al-Azhar to the point that its graduates could not speak Arabic and did not know the verses of the Koran. They studied theological sciences without emotion, as if they were chemistry lessons. Thus, we stopped graduating theologians. They abolished the shari'ah courts and tried to undermine the personal statute. Now, sound religious instruction is being taken out of curricula. They have nationalized mosques. What used to be free podiums are controlled by the Awqaf now, and they only say what agrees with the government. They even wanted to make the sermons uniform in order to conceal the voice of the truth—'Fain would they extinguish God's light with their mouths' [Koran 9:32].

"They have attributed radicalism and terrorism to Islam. Radicalism and terrorism are the consequence of numerous other things that have nothing to do with Islam. There is the unemployment, the economic situation, the suppression of freedom, and the pressure. We must look for the root causes and must form a complete research team consisting of sociologists, psychologists, and economists to develop solutions to this phenomenon that is as far as it can be from Islam. We must hold talks with them [radicals] because violence can only beget violence. Suppressing liberties gives rise to groups that engage in underground activity and to radical groups that have their own amirs [leaders], even though others say that these groups have emerged from under the robe of the Muslim Brotherhood. How can it be so, considering that Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir scattered us, burnt our books, and sent us to jail from 1954 to 1974? How could we contact or influence these groups. We were subjected to great oppression. The Suez Canal was nationalized in

1956, and we were told in jail that whoever writes to express support for Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's nationalization of the canal would be released from jail. How could we support the oppressor who wanted to detach us from the Muslim Brotherhood and wanted us to condemn the brotherhood's leadership and to support any demand made of us afterward? We rejected the offer and spent 19 years doing hard labor in jail. I was required to wash 150 heavy prison uniforms each day. But the brotherhood did not collapse and did not weaken. This was a test from God. Ordeals always separate a faithful servant from a weak servant of God. The hypocrites did not emerge in Mecca because the infidel engaged in torture and because Mecca was afflicted with ordeals from God. But the hypocrites surfaced in Medina, where there were no ordeals. Torturing Muslim Brothers did nothing but make them stronger and more united."

Mustafa Mashhur also noted: "We do not wish to attain power and overthrow the regime. Rather, we want to rule with Islam, and we will follow whoever rules by the shari'ah. In the past, the phrase 'to rule with Islam' was not familiar, and those who joined Islam were old people who had retired from life. But young people join the Muslim Brotherhood now, and they play a positive role for change in the Islamic structure. The slogan of 'Islam is the solution' has become a familiar slogan that attracts people, and the proof is the success achieved by the Islamic tendency in the free elections held by labor unions and student federations. The people's wish for an Islamic rule and the success of the Islamic tendency in Algeria are proof of this. The struggle between the regime and the FIS goes on in Algeria. God, the Creator, knows what is good for us and what corrupts us—'Should He not know—He who created? And He is the One who understands the finest mysteries (and) is well-acquainted (with them)' [Koran 67:14]. God has established a system of life and has dealt with everything in our life in His law. How can we reject this and seek socialism or something else? Communism collapsed in its own house, and the west will also collapse. Destructive elements exist there, such as moral disintegration, the spread of drugs, sexual deviation, AIDS, and the usury crises that cause economic crises, which are followed by political and military crises. These states are on their way to collapse, and the Muslims will rise, and thus God's promise of support, victory, and empowerment to the faithful will be fulfilled.

Striking Tourism and Investment

"The scheme to strike tourism is new. Before the dispute between radicals and Copts, we became used to seeing a restaurant smashed because it served alcohol, despite our opposition to such acts. But striking tourists is something new, and we are opposed to it. When a tourist comes visits us we must protect his honor and his property. However, tourists must observe our country's religious traditions."

On the appointment of the shaykh of al-Azhar and the mufti, Mustafa Mashhur said that the mufti and the

shaykh of al-Azhar must not be appointed so that the job may not put pressure on them. They must be elected to the position so that they will be free of fear for their job.

In response to question about accusations that brotherhood is receiving financing from Iran, Mashhur said:

"The brotherhood is, as al-Banna said, the richest because it possesses whatever Muslim Brothers have in their pockets. As for financing from Iran, nobody finances us. If a country gives something, it must want something else in return. We do not accept this, because we do not seek to attain power. We want to be ruled by shari'ah, and we pursue legitimate channels. We have been trying to get a permit for 10 years, but have failed because of the ill-reputed laws promulgated by al-Sadat. He codified dictatorship and tailored laws to suit the owners of AL-DA'WAH and AL-I'TISAM, whereas we have not been able to publish a magazine or to establish a party. However, we cooperate with other parties, such as the al-Ahrar [Liberal] Party and the Labor Party, in order to get the legitimate channel through which to express ourselves. But dawn must break, and the sun must rise after this long night."

'Abd-al-Fattah al-Shurbaji, al-Ahrar Party secretary general, concluded the panel with an address in which he said that the al-Ahrar Party's primary principle calls for establishing the shari'ah as the main source of legislation and that the party program calls for electing the shaykh of al-Azhar and the mufti from the Council of Prominent Ulema. He said: "This has been stated in the text of the program since 1976. But struggle for the Islamic call requires consolidated efforts. I hope that the Muslim Brotherhood's program will try to unite the Muslims, either through concessions by the brotherhood or by the other groups. We are perplexed by the various names of the Islamic groups, and we hope that God will unite us to elevate our faith. We all believe in God as our Lord, in Muhammad as His prophet, in Islam as our faith, and in the venerable Koran as law and constitution. We do Islam an injustice with this multiplicity [of Islamic groups]. If the Muslim Brotherhood does not have a license or a legitimate channel, then we provide the brothers with this channel, because al-Ahrar Party papers are open to them."

Shaykhs Discuss Roots of Extremism

93AF0334A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 16 Dec 92 p 9

[Text] Qina—President Husni Mubarak announced that he has sponsored the youth of the religious Islamic awakening to the maximum extent, he has made it a condition that their religiousness serve development and stability, and not used in order to frighten innocent people. The president urged the youth to start immediately cleansing their ranks of those who want to distort their image.

This was announced by Minister of Awqaf Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub at the large religious meeting he held yesterday with male and female students of Qina branch of Asyut University. The meeting was attended by the governor of Qina, Major General Yahya al-Bahnasawi; Dr. 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi, deputy chancellor of 'Ayn Shams University; Shaykh 'Atiyyah Saqr; Shaykh Isma'il Sadiq al-'Adawi; and Dr. 'Abd-al-Hadi al-Kamil, deputy chancellor of the Qina Branch of 'Ayn Shams University.

Mahjub stressed that the whole country is certain that the religious youth are innocent of opening fire on tourists, undermining the country's security, or destroying the country's economy. He said there is an international and regional malice against Egypt and there have attempts to undermine its security and stability because of its vanguard role in the world. For this reason, these groups are sad to see Egypt enjoying stability.

The minister of awqaf said that the question of accusing the ruler or the society of being infidels is one of the most serious issues that some people in Egypt are trying to raise. He called on those advocating religious awakening to cooperate with the state in spreading enlightened religious thought and to use reason and wisdom. He stressed that it is not in their interest to be in constant clash with the state and that gradual reform, which the conditions of the society and its safety call for, is better than trying to reform with force and violence, which is against religion and the law. He urged them to become involved in action and development in order to serve the country; otherwise, they are wasting their efforts and themselves in imaginary battles and peripheral issues that are of no avail for the country or the religion. They should not be provoked by the zealotry of ignorant individuals and the religious rulings of misguided people or a malicious group.

Al-Bahnasawi called for the need to explore the dimensions of religious fanaticism both at home and abroad and to find out why tourism in Egypt is targeted by religious groups. He also called for developing measures to protect tourists. Shaykh Isma'il Sadiq al-'Adawi, imam of al-Azhar Mosque, called for taking measures to familiarize the tourists with the nature of our Islamic country and to stress the need to respect its Islamic traditions so they will respect our traditions and not provoke the Muslims' feelings. He praised the German foreign minister's statement in which he urged German tourists to respect the feelings and traditions of Muslims when visiting their countries.

At the end of the meeting, the minister of awqaf announced the allocation of 3 million pounds for repair and maintenance work in Qina Province and the construction of a large mosque to serve the university's students.

Official Comments on Sources of Extremism*93AF0338B Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 7 Dec 92 p 5*

[Text] What do the terrorists want to accomplish by striking at tourism in Egypt?

What are terrorisms pretexts and its causes—how should we confront it? Writers and journalists have tried to answer these questions and others. The following are some of the views and ideas we hope to be added anew to the dimensions of the problem.

Domestic terrorism expert Major General Jalal 'Izz-al-Din asserted that the incidents that take place in Egypt are not only the responsibility of the writers, thinkers, and religious ulema, but the shared responsibility all of us citizens. Citizens have the greatest role in this regard. When we recall the activities of the terrorist groups—the political assassinations of security men and public officials since the 1970's and attacks on tourism—we must take a bold stand against these deviants who toy with the lives of innocent citizens. Security studies have proved that 80 percent of victims take part in the the incidence of crimes!

Major General Jalal 'Izz-al-Din called upon men in politics, the media, and religion to prepare a national plan for youth and for making citizens aware of the sources of our national income, especially tourism, defending it and protecting it. Egyptian citizens are required to oppose this violent attack on Egypt's economy. What the village of al-Hajarat in Qina did, working with the police forces to expel terrorists because of the residents' feeling that this was a national duty, must be realized.

'Abd-al-Rahim al-Ghul, deputy of the Supreme Youth and Sports Council, said that Egypt is considered to be one of the leading countries in the field of tourism because of its distinction in this field at the global level. He said that it is a fact that in the region, Egypt and Israel are the two countries in the forefront of this vital field. The attacks on tourists in Egypt resulted in the reemergence of Israeli tourism, making it flourish and bringing it huge revenues.

He pointed to the danger of the terrorists' persisting in their actions and affecting the most important economic resource. He reaffirmed the importance of confronting and dealing with them, which is the role of the family, educational institutions, and schools.

Media Solidarity

Samir Halawah, president of the Misr Tourism Company, added that the intent of striking at Egyptian tourism was to sabotage the Egyptian economy, "and I do not hide the fact that the violent actions perpetrated by a misled and misleading faction in committing aggression against tourists have caused a 30 percent drop in reservations, which is a dangerous sign. I call for solidarity in the information media at home and abroad to expose these plans, and I invite tourism companies to set up a national media plan with the aim of spurring tourist activity."

He warned of the spread of tendentious rumors that threaten tourism in Egypt, after statistics and reports had confirmed Egypt's presence in international forums in the past.

Ahmad Zaki, president of the Federation of Chambers of Tourism, said that one modern motive of security is to set up wireless communications systems in tourist transport buses and connect these systems to tourist police operations rooms. "Why don't we implement this idea now so that tourists and citizens will be safe from extremist attack? They say that 'an ounce prevention is better than a pound of cure.' Why aren't there security teams on long trips?"

Shaykh 'Atiyah Saqr, president of the Fatwah Committees at al-Azhar, added that "tourism is sanctioned in Islam, and so are its revenues and employment. God has required us to show kindness to tourists. Long ago, the Muslims used to serve the Jews and interact with them, and our great Prophet did not forbid that. In the early period of Islam, Egypt's ancient sites existed, and no one tried to demolish them. Have hateful, biased people discovered, 14 centuries later, that these are statues and idols, that there are biased ideas belonging to non-Islamic quarters that want to strike at Islam and at tourism, having recently become revived?"

Shaykh 'Atiyah Saqr asserted that to end the catastrophe, a front must be formed to confront those who are trying to harm the faith. This front should consist of clergymen and rectors of al-Azhar who have experience at this at the global level through their sermons and guidance. Islamic clergy throughout the world are unhappy with those who take it upon themselves to be judges and executioners, to the detriment of the true Islamic faith.

Writer Attributes Strife to Corruption, Unemployment*93AF0335A Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 5 Dec 92 p 5*

[Interview with Mahmud al-Sa'dani by unnamed correspondent; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] A pen in the hand of satirical writer Mahmud al-Sa'dani is like a scalpel in the hand of a doctor always on intimate terms with warm blood on the patient's gown, or like a machine gun that fires rounds successively until it hits the target in its vulnerable spot, or like a sailboat that dances on the waves of the sea! We held the following interview with him.

[AL-AHRAR] Didn't the recent Cairo earthquake reveal an Egypt living atop a volcano of aftershocks, high prices, unemployment, drugs, extremism, and terrorism?

[Al-Sa'dani] The world, not just Egypt, has completely lost its conscience. Great Britain is in bad economic shape. People are eating garbage, and scores of British youth are begging at stores. Distress exists throughout the world, not just in Egypt. However, the fear of an earthquake is causing a lack of justice in Egypt. England

is the greatest nation on earth. If a poor person becomes sick, he is treated like a king. The opposite happens in Egyptian hospitals, where a person entering healthy leaves without an intestine and a liver!

The most important thing that distinguishes Britain from Egypt, despite the presence of poor people there, is the absence of state workers who delight in torturing people for no reason. This gives the Egyptian earthquake its special character when compared with other earthquakes in the world.

In Egypt, you must pay a bribe to pay money, not to take money! This is a crisis of the government vis-a-vis the citizens, which is played out through government employees, who know only 'Come back tomorrow, sir.'

The ordinary citizen does not see the government as [Prime Minister] 'Atif Sidqi, but as the official sitting behind the counter who beats the people. Hence, the absence of justice is the most important factor giving the earthquake its special character.

Bloody Struggle

[Al-Sa'dani] The extremist, Islamic societies are nothing new. Islamic history is a continuous sequence of bloody struggles between extremists and moderates.

Extremists appeared at the inception of Islam, when a dispute broke out between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah [over succession after the Prophet's death]. Several Muslims believed that Mu'awiyah was not in the right. They declared a rebellion and were called the Kharajites [one of whom assassinated 'Ali; they opposed keeping the succession in the Prophet's lineage, believing that any devout Muslim was entitled to be caliph]. The horrible catastrophes that they perpetrated would put gray hair on a baby.

The Karmathians [an Islamic insurrectionary movement] appeared during the Islamic conquest. They destroyed the Kaaba and stole and discarded the black stone. It was only the king of Egypt who returned it. After that, they began to kill pilgrims on their way Mecca. Then, the Zanj [Negro slave] revolt occurred. The Zanj believed that Islam was only for the weak. They ruled the Islamic world, except for Baghdad. Finally, they came to an end. Then, the Assassins appeared. They were the first to practice political assassination. Persia's prime minister was the first person they killed. At the time, they declared this a most important blessing! The matter did not end until the advent of Salah-al-Din al-Ayubi.

Clearly, extremist Islamic groups appear and flex their muscles whenever the nation is experiencing a period of defeat. When the nation is defeated, they gain ascent!

The Islamic nation is currently defeated. Therefore, these extremist groups have appeared in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, and the Gulf countries.

Do not forget that 3 million Zionists are living as a blemish on the land. They are imposing their will on us.

When the Islamic nation succeeds in breaking the backbone of the Jews, these [extremists] will die out, just as Salah-al-Din al-Ayubi's entry into Jerusalem brought about the extinction of the Assassins. Also, this time around, there are many facilitating factors—poverty, unemployment, a lack of housing, and crowding on the buses.

(The National Democratic Party [NDP])

[AL-AHRAR] Why have the leaders of the extremist groups succeeded in exploiting Upper Egypt as a focus of extremism?

[Al-Sa'dani] The youth of Upper Egypt are experiencing chronic problems. There are no rewarding employment opportunities. There are no respectable theaters, clubs, playing fields, or teams that play in the general tournament!

The NDP has forgotten the Egyptians in Upper Egypt. It knows only influential people—investors and the 10th of Ramadan men. It ignores the village of Abu-Halmus! We must review our policy so that we all have an interest in combating terrorism.

[AL-AHRAR] How can young people leave extremism for creativity and innovation?

[Al-Sa'dani] Where is the national goal to which youth aspire? What is it based on? There is no national program around which youths can rally. Hence, the leaders of the extremist groups appeared!

Egypt is spending enormous sums without a defined national goal. The government, through the Youth and Sports Ministry, is spending excessively on the al-Qimmah, al-Ahli, al-Zamalik, and al-Isma'ili clubs, which are for professionals. It has abandoned the youth of Bulaq al-Dakrur and youth centers in Halmus!

The government is not responsible for the al-Ahli and al-Zamalik clubs. It is responsible for young people in the villages. Our policy has become giving to the rich and taking from the poor!

Why does the government not exempt investors from public property taxes if they establish companies and factories in Upper Egypt to eliminate unemployment and to increase output there? Why does the government not provide land in Upper Egypt at no cost to investors in exchange for the construction of factories?

The Wings of Extremism

[AL-AHRAR] How do you view the role of Hasan al-Turabi in Egypt?

[Al-Sa'dani] Al-Turabi is the leader of the Islamic current in the Arab world. He does what is in its interest, as should be the case, sometimes with terrorism, sometimes with dollars. In this regard, we have a duty to strike out against corruption and thus deny al-Turabi a golden opportunity. The salaries of senior

government officials suffice to provide youths with employment opportunities.

[AL-AHRAR] What about Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman, the mufti of al-Jihad?

[Al-Sa'dani] America has a judiciary and democracy. The [solution to the] problem is not 'Abd-al-Rahman's age. If he dies, someone else will rise! Rather, it is providing employment to youths, instead of leaving them without jobs or a goal!

[AL-AHRAR] Are there agencies behind the veil of the female artists?

[Al-Sa'dani] All of the isolated female artists have lost their artistic value in the art market. Their only available leading role is to declare the veil!

Clinton 'Flinton'

[AL-AHRAR] How do you view America's role in the Middle East in the light of Clinton's campaign statements?

[Al-Sa'dani] In my humble opinion, The only difference between Clinton and 'Flinton' concerns a change in form, but not in substance. Although the Bush administration was more understanding, it did nothing worth mentioning! It [even] helped Israel during the Republicans' rule with the largest amount of aid ever. The Palestinian problem will not be solved in Washington or New York. It will be solved in the Arabs' house. As long as Israel feels that it is stronger, it will not make concessions!

State-Owned Newspapers

[AL-AHRAR] The democratic climate has helped close state-owned newspapers in Kuwait, such as SAWT AL-KUWAYT and AL-FAJR AL-JADID. Do you support the closing of state-owned newspapers in Egypt?

[Al-Sa'dani] The closing of SAWT AL-KUWAYT is not related to democracy or dictatorship, but to the folk proverb "Do a favor for conquerors, and they beat you!"

Do not forget that we are living in chaotic times in the Arab world! Regarding state-run newspapers in Egypt, I personally attack the NDP through them, and no one prevents me from doing so. I welcome state-run newspapers if they are committed to free expression. I challenge all nongovernmental newspapers in the Arab world to level against the NDP government 1 percent of the criticism that state-run newspapers level against it.

Punch and Judy Party

[Al-Sa'dani] Governmental newspapers in revolutionary countries afflict people with diarrhea. In Egypt, there are state-run and opposition newspapers that bitterly criticize the government, and there are opposition newspapers that say what they please. However, it is necessary to repeal the press law, which grants every individual—

even morticians—except journalists freedom to establish a newspaper. It is also necessary to repeal the parties law, even if the Punch and Judy Party—and its chairman Buzzy the Clown—wishes to establish a party, as happened in Britain. [passage omitted]

Grass Roots Counterterrorism Campaign Advocated

93AF0332A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 25 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Dr. Kamal 'Ali Yunus: "Combating Terrorism As We Confronted the Earthquake"]

[Text] The spider web of terrorism into which many of our naive ignorant young people have fallen with adolescent enthusiasm has its causes, motives, and promoters. Strangely, some of the producers of extremism scoff at the word terrorism and mockingly consider the word terrorism to be "the code name for the Islamic awakening"—the awakening that is shocking us with murder and robbery, scaring peaceful people, and threatening national unity.

The threads are tangled. Many parties are responsible for the spread of this phenomenon that now weighs heavily on public security and even on the national economy and social stability.

Once upon a time Rasputin, and the false prophet Musaylimah before him, decked themselves in monks' habits to promote foolish ideas. This is what we have seen: many excited fools using such garb to spread their destructive, malevolent ideas. The victims are young people to whom these people have appeared in the clothing of holiness with which they cloaked their malice (they called it jihad) and with money they have amassed from the country's enemies, so that the young people may execute their plots to strike at stability, security, and the economy.

Now the assassinations, robberies, caches of explosives, murders of policemen, and protection rackets are revealing their secrets. Rasputinesque organizations for sure! One of their prominent figures once called political assassinations "a kind of social revenge"! Against whom? Why?

Their plot began by undermining the relationship between their followers and the system of government that the Islamic community around them has sanctioned. Even venerable religious institutions have not been safe from them, and preachers' voices have grown hoarse. They slander them, cast doubt on their honesty and legal rulings, and fan old doctrinal disputes—all in the name of religion, which is utterly innocent of all this.

If the plans of the Ministry of Religious Trusts are inadequate to contain this sedition, it is because the matter is not one that can be confronted by meetings of the minister, the mufti, and religious scholars with these

young people. No, the matter is more complicated. The mosques supported by [the Ministry of] Religious Trusts, with their humble imams who give irrelevant antiquated sermons that lose their audience, imams preoccupied with managing clinics, kindergartens, and alms committees—these mosques have become fair game to such people.

Every mosque could at every service and at every Friday worship be the site of a learned Islamic conference to correct ideas and errors. But where can we get the experienced, learned imams? This is why we must stimulate interest in preacher training programs.

The proliferation of small, privately owned mosques has become a heavy burden because many Muslims go to them instead of the mosques of [the Ministry of] Religious Trusts. No scholars supervise the classes given at these mosques, nor is the knowledge of these amateurs tested. Therefore, these mosques must be put under the authority of learned preachers as a kindness to our young people.

Where are the religious programs in the curricula of the Education Ministry? In the schools? In the universities? Religion has become a peripheral course, unrelated to the whole.

Where are the religious meetings with outstanding scholars under the supervision of al-Azhar and [the Ministry of] Religious Trusts, in coordination with the Ministry of Education? Why doesn't university education include a scientific religious curriculum that is suited to the needs of young people? Young people have been left prey to the control of bands of groups in which extremism grows and flourishes and stands as an obstacle that blocks the ears of young people to the voice of reason, which it does by exploiting religious scruples and raising specious glittering slogans.

All of this happens in the absence of the role of the family, especially with regard to oversight. The role of the family must be revived.

As for youth organizations, there are not enough sports activities, playing fields, or youth centers to absorb the energy of our young people. Religious preachers should be present where young people gather to present religion to them in an easy modern garb through persuasion and dialogue.

As for the programs of the Egyptian political parties, they contain nothing to confront this perverse phenomenon. On the contrary, some political parties have embraced extremism, thinking it to be the way to get grass roots followers by raising glittering slogans for the public.

Certainly, we all have been remiss in understanding our young people, who are targeted by extremism and terrorism. Let us try to create jobs and invest the energies of our young people through a national project that is unfettered by bureaucracy.

Everyone must show solidarity through united national action in which al-Azhar and the Ministries of Religious Trusts, Education, and Information participate—along with the High Council on Youth and Sports, sociologists, economists, the Ministry of Manpower, and the political parties—to confront extremism, as was done with the cabinet committee formed to deal with the effects of the earthquake.

Intellectuals Implored To Confront Terrorism

93AF0333E Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 23 Dec 92 p 6

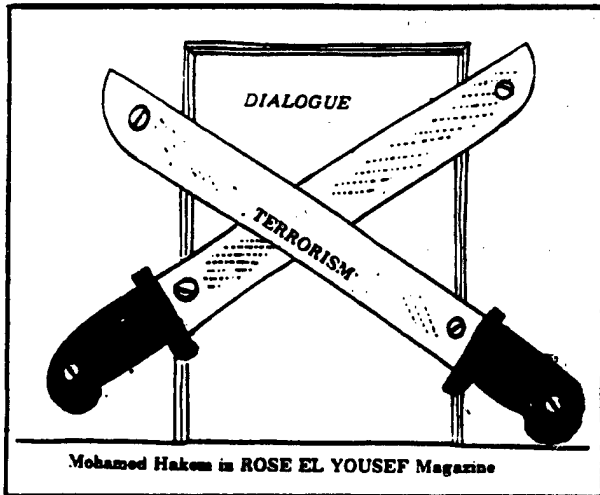
[Article by A.J.]

[Excerpt] When society becomes the target of terrorism at the hands of a misguided and misleading group and when some people try to assassinate the nation's intellect by threatening its intellectuals and writers and matters go as far as assassination, the intellectuals must resort to wider action than ever before in their confrontation with terrorism. They must do this in order to protect the nation, defend the nation's history and heritage, reassert the supremacy of reason, and defend freedom and democracy in the face of black terrorism, which stands as an obstacle against development by attempting to strike at economic projects, such as tourism. Intellectuals everywhere, in political parties, in universities, in cultural and scientific institutes, and in trade unions are called upon to continually and energetically act in all of these fields, in every corner of the country, in villages, towns, and popular quarters. These quarters have produced some of the terrorist elements, and their inhabitants have been misguided by misleading slogans. The intellectual's role is to correct misconceptions and expose false notions. Intellectuals should be in constant contact with the masses, support their causes, and explain to them the truth about terrorism. They should uphold Islam's noble and constant values, which are based on social development through work, justice, faith, and love for others.

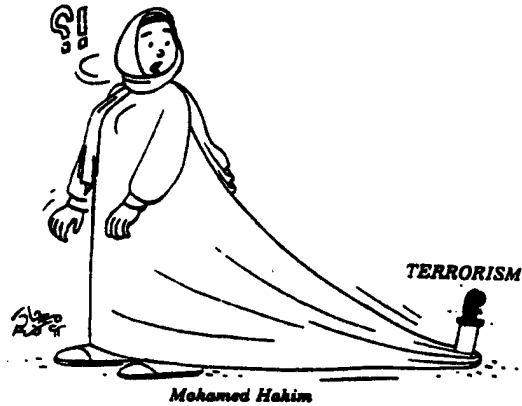
More than anybody else, the intellectuals are called upon to confront terrorism because terrorists lack understanding and awareness. They stand against the intellectuals' activities and issues, whether in arts, literature, or any other artistic pursuit. Since the intellectuals are the nation's brain trust and conscience, their burden is double, whether in intellectual confrontations or mass meetings. They should bring together all of the nationalist forces that are anxious to protect the society and persistently work for its development through creative dialogue and democracy, the principles of which we are seeking to consolidate and strengthen. The question of terrorism is no longer just a question of security. It is also a question of the entire society. The intellectual's role here comes to the forefront in thwarting the dangers and the ideas that prompt some people to commit acts of terrorism and to destroy the society. [passage omitted]

Select Editorial Cartoons on Terrorism

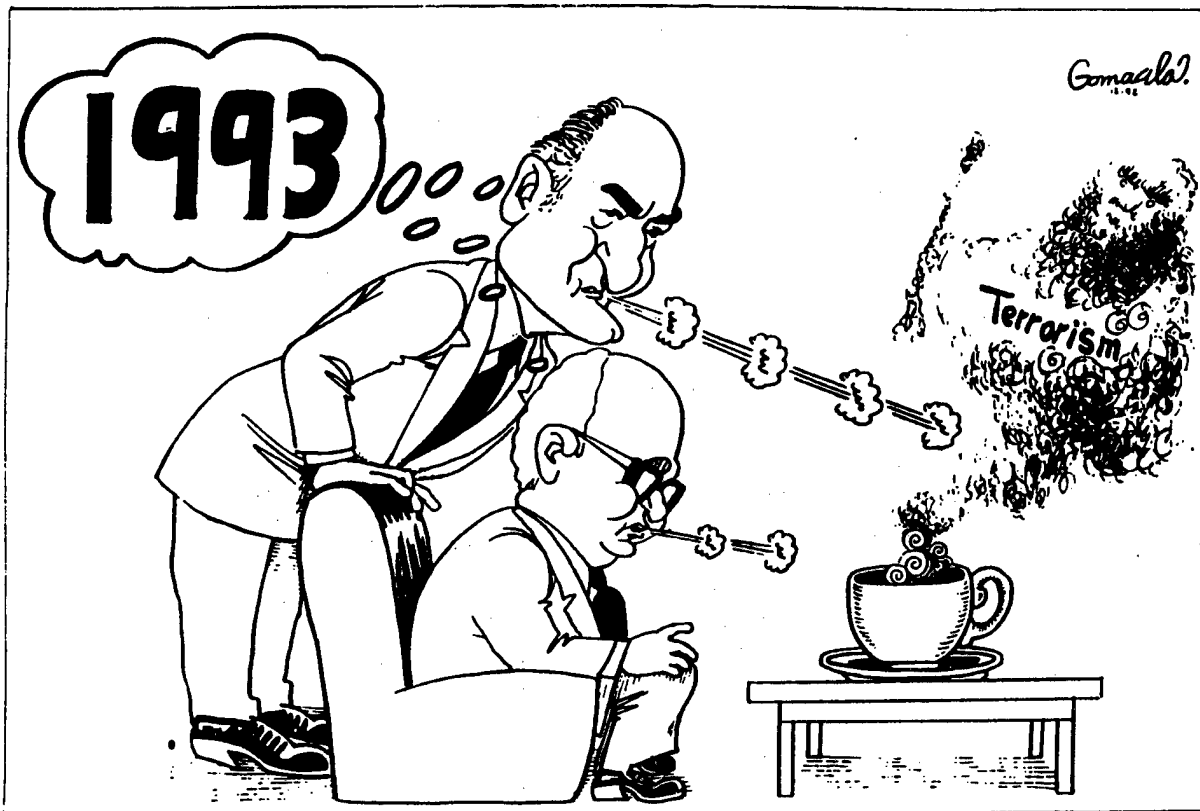
Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 1 Dec 92 p 3

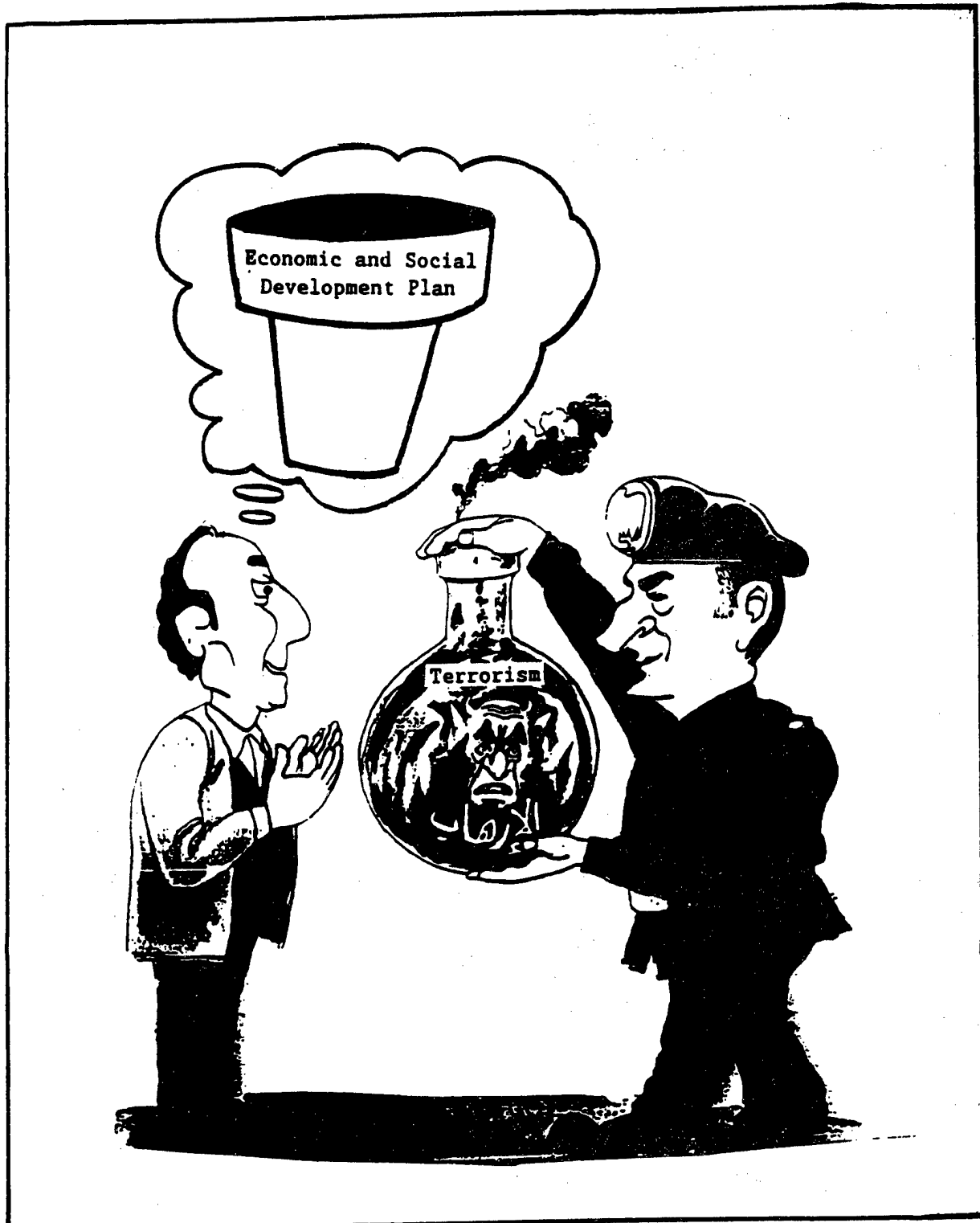


Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 16 Dec 92 p 3

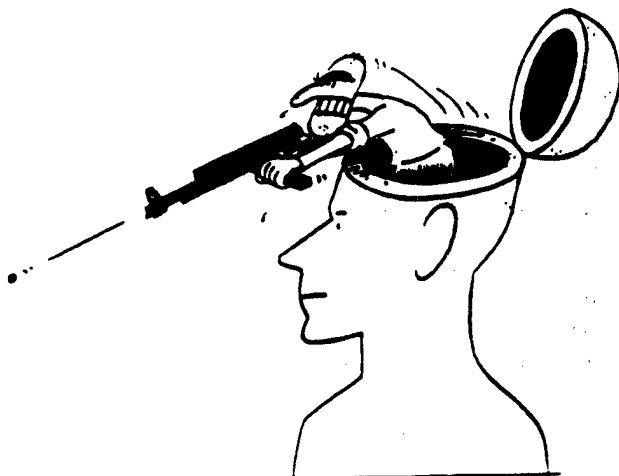


Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY in Arabic 6 Jan 93 p 7





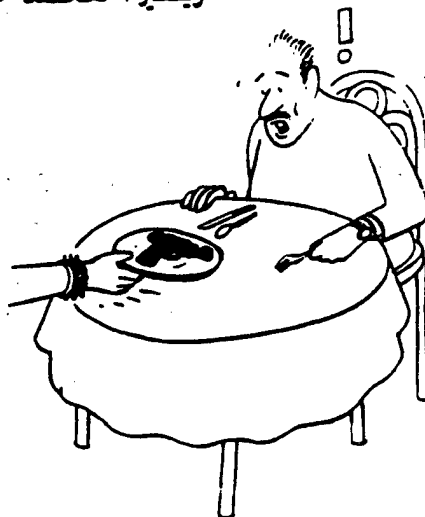
Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 49



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 7 Dec 92 p 21

Cartoon by Muhammad Hakim

كاريكاتير : محمد حاكم



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 80



"Can I show you another path?!"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 7 Dec 92 p 21



"What's important is the future."

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 5

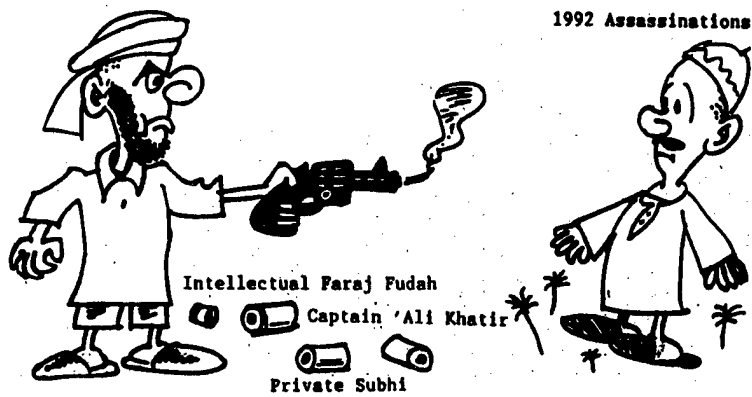


"Had the terrorists been Muslims, they'd have attacked the Serbs, not the police."

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
28 Dec 92 p 85



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 58



Intellectual Faraj Fudah
Captain 'Ali Khatir
Private Subhi
محاولات اغتيال الشعب المصري
Attempts To Assassinate the Egyptian People

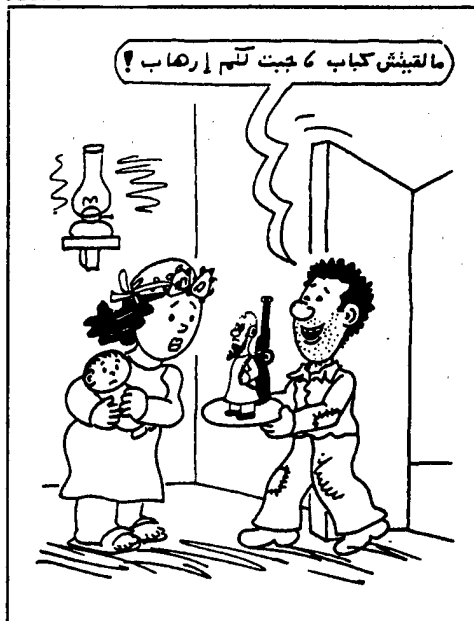
Despite the Assassination of Faraj Fudah

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 23



"Of course, I, too, am against terrorism...but you, too, must stand beside me against the IMF's terror."

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 41



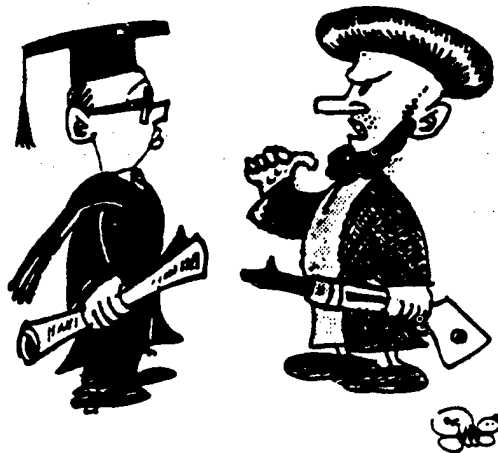
"I couldn't find any kebab, so I brought you some terrorism!"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 2



"They want terrorism, and we want kebab."

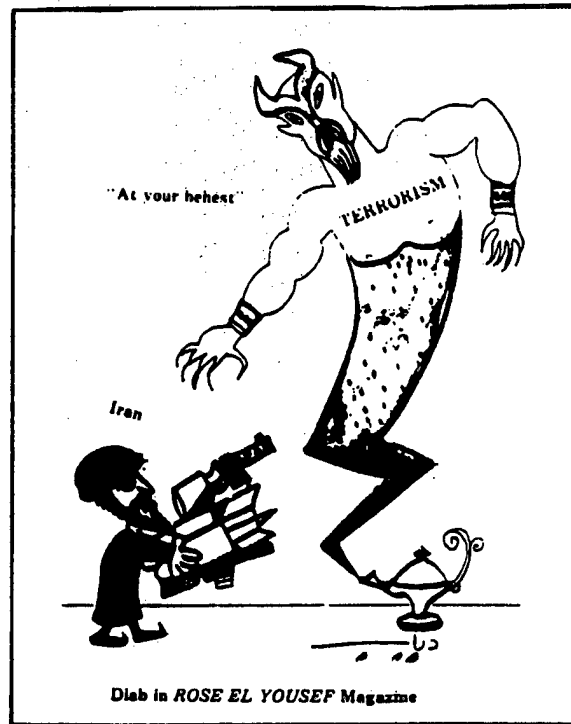
Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 7 Dec 92 p 21



— ده ليس الدكتوراة .. بتاع إيران ..

This is the Iranian doctoral outfit!!

Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 2 Dec 92 p 3



Diab in ROSE EL YOUSEF Magazine

Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY 2 Dec 92 p 7



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 82



١٥ معسكرا لتدريب
الإرهاب في السودان

15 Terrorist Training Camps in Sudan

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 47



"Yes we do have Khomeyni brand terrorism!!"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 7 Dec 92 p 5



"Iran cultivates and exports terrorism"

Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 10 Dec 93 p 3

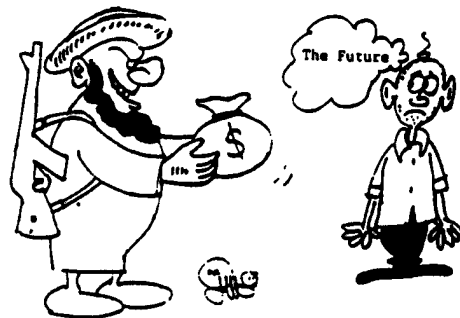


Rafsanjani's snakes

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 49



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 26



الإرهاب - خد - وعصفور في اليد خير من عشرة في الشجرة

Terrorism: "Take this. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush!!"

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 4



"Save me... Rafsanjani"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 56



— بدون تعليق

No Comment

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 31



— قاعدة .. إرهابية .. متفجرة .. !!

A Veiled...terrorist...base...!!!

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 19 Oct 92 p 30



"Congratulations, it's a girl!"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 59



— إشاعة .. بتقول إنها ١٩٩٣ ..

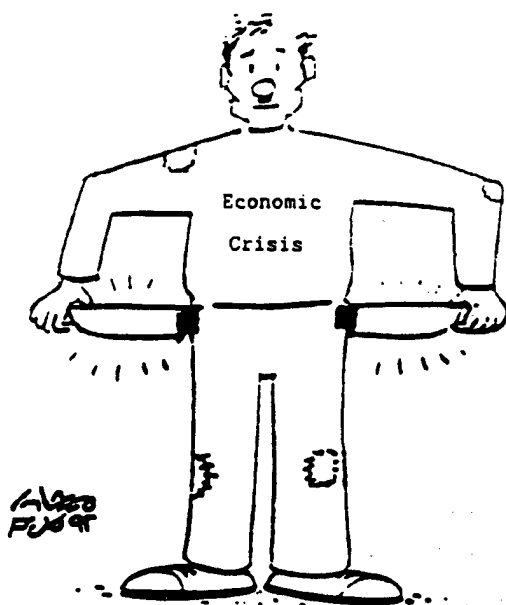
"A sign that it's 1993"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 81

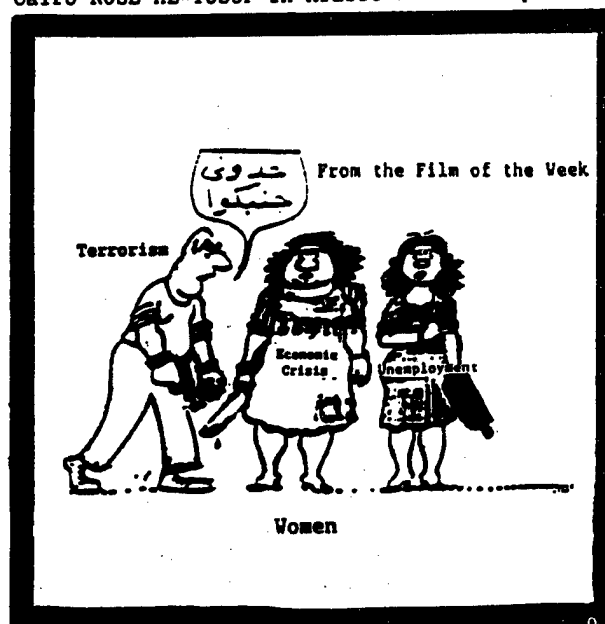


"Are you sure that you aren't connected
to terrorism?!!"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 7 Dec 92 p 22



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 11

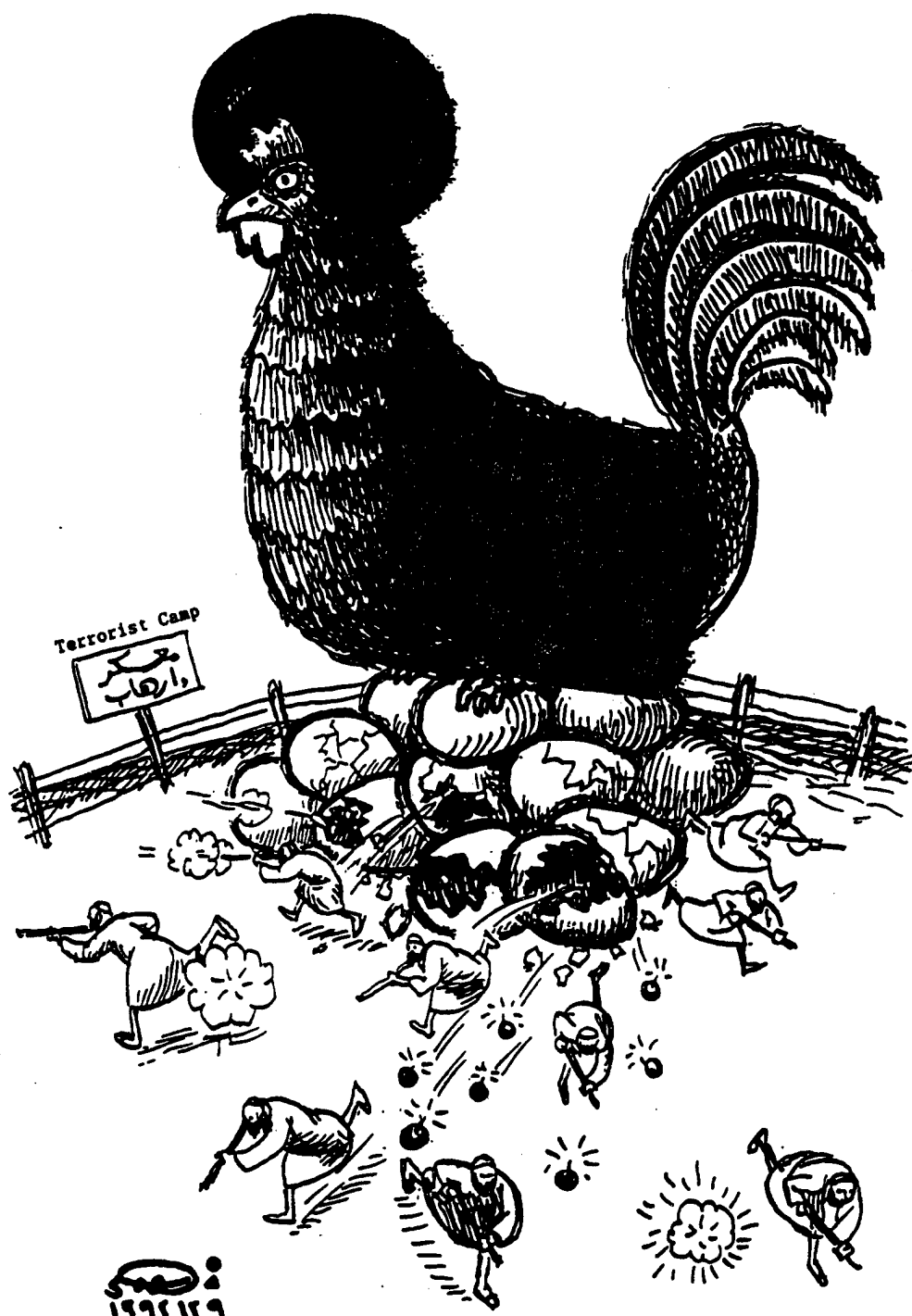


"Let me stand beside you."

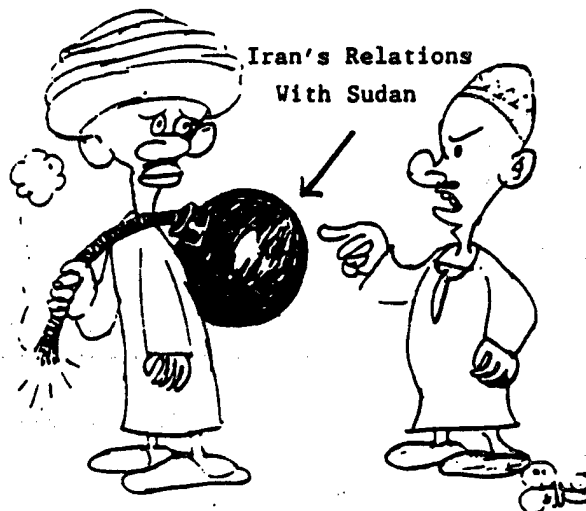
Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 36

کاريکاتير: زهدي

Cartoon by Zahdi



Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 51



— حاسب • يازول • يعليب بعدين تنفجر فيك

"Careful, my good man. It is going to blow up on you."

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 5



— البقية في حياتك في تنظيم مصر، !!

"My condolences to you for [trying to] 'reform Egypt'"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 24

Cartoon by Muhsin

كاريكاتور : محسن



الاب - يا ابني اعقل .. وانا اعمل لك مشروع
صغير تنطوف فيه زي ما انت عايز ..

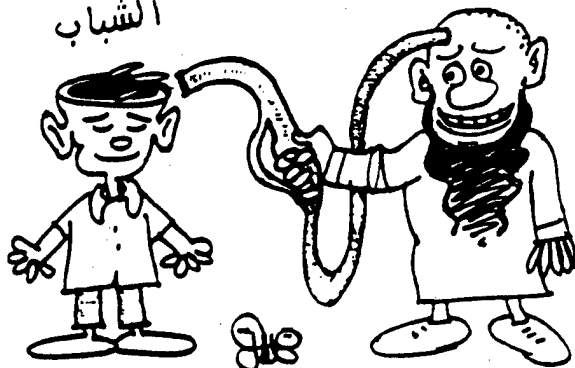
Father: "Son, be reasonable. I will create
a small venture for you in which you can be
as extreme as you want to be."

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 28

Extremism

Youths
الشباب

المتطرف

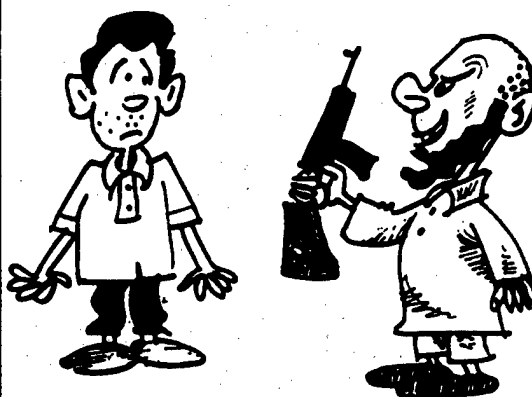


— ٩٠ سوبر ٨٠ . كله موجود تحت امرك

"We have Premium 90 or 80, whichever you wish."

Cairo EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 7 Dec 93 p 3

YOUNG PEOPLE AND EXTREMISM



I went to Iran for study and they've given me this 'degree'!

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 6

Egyptian Citizen



"It isn't enough to pray and fast...take this and kill as well!!"

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 58



— ٩٢ و ٩٣ .. كلها سنتين فاجرة .. خالصة عقل ودين

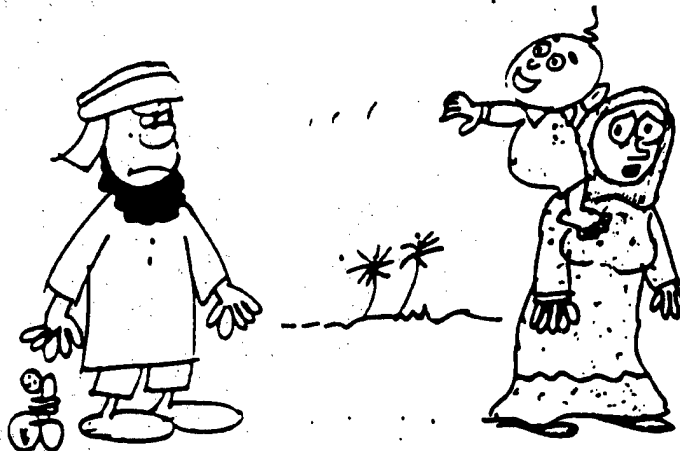
"1992 or 1993...they are both shameless years that lack reason and religion."

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 82



Terrorism Schools

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 27



الطفل - ولما اكبر .. تجيبني زي دة يا امي

Child: "Mommy, get me an outfit like that when I grown up."

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 85



Shaykhs Accused of Causing Unrest*93AF0336D Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
14 Dec 92 pp 44-45*

[Article by Wahid Hamid: "Lies From the Podiums; Listen to Them and to Us, Mr. President"]

[Text] The mosque is surrounded from the outside by policemen. Inside, there is a large crowd of worshipers. The imam climbs to the podium. He thanks God, may He be praised and exalted, and ask for peace and prayer to be upon God's honorable messenger. With an effective and resounding voice, he then delivers a sermon to the congregation, and he recounts glorious Islamic stories and positions that confirm that Islam is the religion of righteousness and justice.

When the "shaykh" realizes that he has gained control of the congregation's mind and heart, he diverts the benevolent sermon to curse everything in our life and to make groundless accusations against various sectors. He then starts cursing everybody, both ruler and ruled. Because he is aware that the police are outside the mosque and that they hear every word he says, he boasts about the challenge and goes to excess in his revilement and curses. Having worn a hero's robe and heard the murmurs of admiration from his audience, the "shaykh" goes further, inciting immediate rebellion, mutiny, and anarchy.

Simple Muslims will undoubtedly believe that this is religion and that the shaykh is right, as long as he says whatever he says without being confronted or countered by anybody.

The policemen outside are extremely happy. They are witnessing and guarding the process of charging and filling people with anger on the basis of false allegations, and they are not making any effort to intervene because they are protecting democracy. Or so they think!

We, simple Muslims whom God has blessed with a mind and with some knowledge, believe that this situation and this method have no connection with religion or with democracy.

The shaykhs say: "Listen, O ruler of Egypt."

We say: "Listen to them and listen to us, Mr. President."

I have within reach dozens of cassette tapes carrying the recorded sermons and speeches of a number of shaykhs and imams of private mosques. It is a profitable and widespread business, and there are those who work to promote it to the masses on a large scale because it influences the minds of simple people. Because Islam is the religion of righteousness and justice, the call to Islam must adhere to righteousness and justice. Because Islam is the religion of high ethics and of charitable and tolerant words, then an Islamic missionary must adhere to them. However, the material recorded on these tapes confirms that there is no adherence to righteousness or justice in presenting the issues. They also confirm that the preacher has swerved from Islam's ethics and morals.

We appreciate the burden of false accusation because we fear God and we adhere to His words, which say: "In most of their secret talks there is no good. But if one exhorts to a deed of charity or justice or conciliation between men, secrecy is permissible. To him who does this, seeking the pleasure of God, We shall soon give a reward of the highest value" [Koran 4:114]. The tapes are recorded with their voices, and they express all the injustice they do others. Let me review with you a tape recorded by somebody called Shaykh Muhsin so that we can realize the depth of the tragedy engulfing us. At a time when we hope that religion will unite us, some clergymen call for division and fragmentation and plant the seeds of hatred in people's hearts. This man attacks everybody with utter cruelty and violence, making no distinction between clergyman and politician. He says that Egypt's ruler is an unjust tyrant because he has promulgated the law on terrorism and because he confiscates liberties, fights religion, and jails Islamic groups. So he will not escape punishment. Under his administration, the government is so corrupt that a traffic policeman writes tickets to drivers, and when these drivers ask what their violation is so they will not repeat it, he tells them that there are no violations, but he has been instructed to issue all the tickets he has and collect the fines! As for the murderer of the engineers, the judiciary was instructed not to punish him because he is supported, so the judiciary found him to be insane. Al-Azhar and Awqaf ulema have sold themselves to the devil, except for a few. The Christians have agreed with the Jews to fight Islam. If the Ministry of Awqaf takes control of mosques, then prayers may not be held in them. This and more than you can imagine and that logic cannot accept is said. All of this is conveyed through a strong and sedate cover that consists of stories and events that tell about the justice of 'Umar Bin-al-Khattab, the ascetic ruler who walked barefoot, whereas Egypt's ruler has a private plane, a private train, and a squash court! Meanwhile, his people starve and cannot find sustenance. Egypt's wealthy society is rabid; Egypt's poor are buried. The oppressed are jailed; and the tyrants in Mubarak's era are triumphant. All this is said by talking about 'Umar Bin-al-Khattab's justice!

We, the simple Muslims, do not accept this at all. We do not accept it in obedience to God's words, may He be praised and exalted: "O ye who believe, fear God and (always) say a word directed to the Right" [Koran 33:70], and "O ye who believe, fear God and be with those who are true (in word and deed)" [Koran 9:119]. A man who delivers sermons to people must possess the qualities of righteousness, truthfulness, and honesty because God says in His perfect book: "Those who ascribe false things to God will never prosper" [Koran 16:116]. All that the shaykh tells people in his talk is groundless and is based on suspicion. What right does this man have, and on what basis does he make his judgments publicly and among crowds? What right does he have to have his words recorded and circulated? What right does he have to accuse Islam's ulema in al-Azhar and in the Awqaf of having sold themselves to Satan? By what right and with

what support does he accuse the judiciary of making decisions according to instructions issued to them? What is his proof? Were instructions issued to the judiciary to acquit Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman of involvement in the assassination of President al-Sadat? What about the dozens of members of Islamic groups who have been released by the courts? Doesn't the man know that 'Umar's justice, may God be pleased with him, began with seeking the truth in accordance with the words of our honorable messenger who said: "Seek the truth, for even if you see perdition in it, you shall be saved. Avoid lying, for even if you see safety in it, you shall perish." What traffic police is he talking about? When and where did the traffic police indiscriminately write tickets just to collect money? We will not try to refute the incident, and we will assume that it did really occur. Isn't it then possible that this truly disgraceful conduct was premeditated conduct by a man who engaged in it for his own purposes? If so, the man is accountable for it before God and before the law. But it is unjust to accuse the government of corruption. There is no doubt that this clergyman is aware of the venerable messenger's words, which say: "Beware of suspicion, because suspicion leads to what is most false." What does the shaykh say, knowing that all of his words are based on suspicion?

Considering that the man speaks of 'Umar's justice, then there is no doubt that he is aware that this caliph did not rule according to his whims. 'Umar once saw a woman committing a sin. He went to the council of the messenger's companions and asked them: "What would your opinion be if the ruler of the faithful said that he saw a woman or a man committing a sin? Would his testimony be enough to mete out the established punishment?" The companions discussed the matter and concluded: "He must bring four witnesses or, like any other Muslim, be flogged for defamation." So 'Umar held his tongue.

This is 'Umar's justice, whereas the justice of mosque imams these days is in trumping up accusations and passing judgment on them, while people say amen to them and while the police stand out there to guard them.

Because this issue has no connection with religion but is rather an issue of extreme hostility between the radical groups, on one hand, and the government and the people, on the other, and because it is a purely political issue, we do not wish for Islam to be exploited by spreading lies and falsehood as if they were truths and for cursing people, ulama, and magistrates and accusing them of infidelity without any deterrence. The venerable messenger said: "An obstinate foe is most hateful to God." The messenger, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, also said: "I am a human being. If I instruct you on affairs concerning your faith, accept my instruction. If I instruct you with to my opinion, then it is just an opinion, and censure me not for opinions." The messenger, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, has established for us the main principle for the Islamic call. But today's mosque imams have abandoned the faith and become politicians. Each of them says whatever he wishes to say, and we are required to listen and

obey! The latest thing I heard from one of these preachers in a major mosque was the statement that using bells in schools is prohibited because bells are used in churches. He said that the bells must be replaced by a mu'azzin who proclaims "Allah is great" between one class period and another. By God Almighty, this is the obstinacy the prophet discouraged in Islam. But why shouldn't these shaykhs say and do even more as long as other clergymen are not refuting their allegations, as long as they are not taken to task for the falsehoods they utter, and as long as the policemen are outside guarding religious falsehood and exaggeration on the pretext that we are a democratic country? What democracy is this? Democracy permits free expression and honest and constructive criticism. But it does not permit the propagation of lies and deception and does not permit cursing the innocent for no offense or crime.

It is every citizen's right to oppose the government. Before democracy, Islam bestowed this right upon Muslims. A man walked into 'Umar's council and said to him: "Have the fear of God, 'Umar." Some flatterers wanted to silence the man but 'Umar said: "There is no good in you if you do not say it, and there is no good in us if we do not heed it." These days, we criticize the president, the government, and the ministers in the press, but we cannot oppose any preacher who climbs a podium and makes unsupported accusations against people or who incites people with alien and faulty ideas. If the government's concept of democracy is to let matters go unrestrained so that falsehood can be propagated and lies can be spread under the guise of religion, then the government is erring against religion and against the people and is opening the door wide for sedition, confusion, and human abasement.

Who has said that clergymen are politicians, and by what right are houses of worship turned into arenas for irresponsible political heresy? We are not demanding oppressive measures or the confiscation of any constructive, or even unconstructive, opinion. But we demand the right granted to us by Islam, namely not to permit lying to people, not to allow falsehood to be promoted as if it were righteousness, and to fear God in whatever pertains to the faith, the country, and our kinsmen. Let us remember God's words, may God be praised and exalted: "O ye who believe, obey God, and obey the messenger and those charged with authority among you. If ye differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to God and His messenger if ye do believe in God and the Last Day: That is best, and most suitable for final determination" [Koran 4:59]. God is always truthful. Will these preachers accept God's and the messenger's judgment on what they are doing to people? Will the government agree to admit that its disgraceful laxity in confronting this phenomenon has nothing to do with democracy and that we, simple Muslims, will be the fodder when the fire flares up?

Observation: Dozens of tapes are available for whoever wishes to listen, investigate, and make a judgment...with Islam.

Asyut Shaykhs Condemn Terrorism*93AF0338D Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 12 Dec 92 p 1*

[Article by 'Abduh Hasanayn in Asyut: "Asyut Preachers Call for Resistance Against Terrorists and Arms Dealers"]

[Text] Friday preachers in the mosques of Asyut yesterday called on worshipers to resist the terrorists who are seeking to sabotage Egypt with alien ideas from neighboring countries having to do with the Shi'ite imamate. The preachers asserted that fighting the terrorists was a legal obligation and that reporting them was the religious duty of every Muslim. Shaykh Murad Ahmad, the preacher of the al-Fatah Mosque, affirmed that concealing terrorists was a crime for which Muslims would be punished in this life and the next. He spoke of the crimes of murder and terror, blowing up trains, and stirring up panic that the terrorists were committing. He called for resistance against arms dealers who facilitated the mission of extremism and terror in Asyut and alluded to the continuation of arms dealing activity by land and along the Nile River. The preacher of the al-Fatah Mosque wondered about the fate of 17 arms dealers whose arrest Deputy Prime Minister and Agriculture Minister Dr. Yusuf Wali announced during a conference in Asyut. The preacher demanded that the Interior Ministry oppose and arrest arms dealers. Prayers were also held amid complete calm in the al-Rahmah Mosque, where the preacher enjoined the legitimate pillars of Islam.

Al-Azhar Shaykh Responds To Claims of Inaction*93AF0333B Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 16 Dec 92 p 5*

["Text" of letter from al-Azhar Shaykh, Jad-al-Haq 'Ali Jad-al-Haq to the People's Assembly Speaker]

[Text] I read in a Monday newspapers of 19 Jumada al-Akhirah 1413 HG, 14 December 1992 AD, a statement attributed to Kamal al-Shadhili, People's Assembly member and National Democratic Party [NDP] organization secretary, and [reports regarding] grumbling by some honorable Assembly members. According to the press, Kamal al-Shadhili called on the shaykh of al-Azhar to take part in confronting attacks that have been and are still being carried out by some outlaws.

The gentlemen who talked about this subject [at the Assembly] said al-Azhar is absent from the scene of action in the country.

I would like to point out that I, the shaykh of al-Azhar, had earlier, at your request, sent you a letter dated 29 September 1992 under No. 831. Attached to the letter was a list of all of the locations at which al-Azhar ulema are found in all parts of Egypt. These include the Islamic call ulema, al-Azhar University professors, academy ulema, and even university and academy students. The list also includes columns of itinerant preachers, Islamic

advocates, and students who go to every place they have access. There, they carry out their duties of publicizing the good word and advocating fraternalism and cooperation among the citizens in doing good and in devoutness to God and his Prophet and in loyalty to the nation.

It was hoped that reference would be made to the shaykh of al-Azhar's statement when the grumbling started in the People's Assembly so that it would be known that he did not shy away from its work or abandon its duties and tasks and that it does not operate secretly or clandestinely. Rather, it is active in all of the available fields of education, Islamic call, and culture. It gives advice, corrects mistakes, and rectifies misconceptions.

In the statement we sent to Your Excellency, we included samples of the fields in which al-Azhar ulema work with patience, perseverance, and earnestness.

Therefore, the shaykh of al-Azhar regrets that some of the Assembly members' statements ignored his persistent efforts, efforts that some people are not aware of and that some of the media ignore. Your Excellency is aware that the shaykh of al-Azhar had the right to expect that the People's Assembly members would be acquainted with his letter so that those who have been grumbling would be aware and would realize that al-Azhar is fulfilling its duties and responsibilities in all of the fields that its men try to reach, despite the lack of resources. It is hoped that you will respond to the alleged claim that al-Azhar is absent from the arena and project its true, bright image on the basis of the facts contained in its statement, which at that time it insisted should not be publicized. This is particularly true regarding the Islamic call activity, which the statement made clear to Your Excellency on the basis of the facts.

Apportioning blame and unjust criticism in the manner that it was carried out in the Assembly might adversely affect the efforts of loyal workers and even discourage them. We need to support the efforts to strive for more and to do even better. Al-Azhar does not wish to be praised for what it does. Rather it wants to be mentioned and appreciated and not to be blamed for shortcomings.

God the Almighty has taught us to thank him in order to seek more of his blessings.

May God give you success in speaking the truth and upholding right.

God's peace and blessings be upon you.

Shaykh of al-Azhar

Jad-al-Haq 'Ali Jad-al-Haq

Film Industry's Role in Extremism Reviewed

93AF0338E Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 4 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Mujahid Khalaf: "Ulema and Film Scholars Declare: There Is No True Film Treatment of Terrorism and Religious Extremism! Film Has Given a Distorted and Unfavorable Image of the Islamic Personality"]

[Text] Ulema and scholars at the Film Institute have called for the need to make use of the possibilities of film to deal with the issues of terrorism and religious extremism and asserted the importance of presenting these issues according to genuine scientific bases, ensuring the appropriate influence in such artistic works and avoiding falling into error, without considering the consequences in this regard.

The ulema asserted that cinematic treatments of these issues are still as far as possible from actual reality and are still influenced by a scornful, wanton, atheist viewpoint.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Marzuq, secretary general of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, asserted that the desired role of film is still lacking, as far as the vital issues affecting Islamic society are concerned. The artistic community has made no effort to exploit the possibilities of this important medium to support and treat basic issues in an effective way, as is the case when they use it for other, deliberate goals and to support private morals and behavior.

Marzuq said that film is an appropriate, even excellent method for Islamic proselytizing and could be more powerful than the efforts of dozens of preachers if the capabilities of the medium were fully exploited.

He pointed to the importance of having excellent producers, directors, and screenwriters conversant with Islamic culture and a good Islamic sense in order to express issues earnestly, truthfully and free of triviality, deception, or ideological confusion.

There are a number of vital issues that, when depicted in films, need to be treated with a high technical standard, issues that are rich with material and fertile in artistic originality—among them, for example, the concept of the oneness of the community, on which an excellent film might be made by presenting the journeys of the renowned traveler Bin-Batutah and the tours he made through the lands he visited, compared with events occurring today, current traditions, and the migrations of the Arabs, with or without sponsors.

He emphasized, in this regard, the film *Borders*, which was a wonderful effort to express the issue and portray the conditions of an average citizen who cannot escape from the strain of oppression and poverty.

Marzuq added: "We need the cinema to confront the gap, regarding Islam, in that field, particularly on the part of the directors, producers, screenwriters, and other technicians."

Film and Extremism

Addressing the role of film in confronting extremism, Marzuq said: "Thus far there has not been one film that has presented this issue as it should be done, despite the importance of this issue and the necessity for films to do this.

"The recent film on this subject, *Terrorism and Kebab*, with 'Adil Imam, was nothing but a farce and a malicious work, nor did it express what it should have. This reaffirms, at the same time, the importance of having a writer and director with Islamic culture and sense for dealing with these issues."

Lost Balance

The secretary general of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs spoke of his view of film production. "The trend abroad, meaning Western tradition and influence, is still on the march in film, and it prevails in most works. That trend makes a man lose his balance and the foundation upon which he stands. The contents of all cinematic works revolve around crime, thievery, and violence, and they dwell on them.

"Film treatments still try to force the sexual aspect on audiences, even if sex has nothing to do with the plot. Audiences are surprised by the concoction of a sexual element, or extra dances, or other things that have nothing to do with the plot.

"This is on top of the Western values that films have brought into our societies, which we have, unfortunately, considered fashionable. We fell under the influence and pressure of cultural plunder!"

Terrorism and Kebab

Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim al-Fayyumi, former dean of al-Azhar University's College of Islamic and Arabic Studies and a former member of the Supreme Committee on Technical Writing, agreed with this view. "The cinema," he said, "Egyptian cinema in particular, has not tried to offer cultural and value symbols in their respected form, the way they should be for society. It presents security officers, in every situation, as if they were some kind of social buffoons, as well as [Islamic] justices of the peace, who certify the most solemn contract a man can sign, the contract of a sacred bond—they must be clowns. And there are other examples: Arabic language teachers, shaykhs, and others."

He added, "This is happening at a time when we should be enthusiastically exploiting the possibilities of this medium to spread moral excellence and virtue and fight sin, crime, and indecency."

Distorted Picture

Al-Fayyumi said that the film industry, with its diverse writers, still conveys a harmful and distorted image of Arabs and Muslims. "This is dangerous," he said, "and must be firmly confronted. I hope a law will be enacted

that makes film a true ambassador of the community that produces and exports it, because it has played a prominent role in strengthening the ties and bonds among people, and in destroying them, as well.

"The importance of a law like this," he added, "is that it will ensure that the message of films exported abroad will be a good one, with excellent content."

Al-Fayyumi pointed out that when he was a member of the Supreme Committee on Technical Writing, he had proposed an honor roll of artistic works and discussed the need to form specialized committees in various branches of culture to play an active role in improving the quality of artistic works.

National Production Plan

Dr. Mukhtar Yunis, a professor at the Graduate Film Institute, emphasized the need for a scientific plan for film production in the country. This plan would be obligatory for those working in this field.

"This plan," he said, "would not limit artistic achievements or shackle it, but guarantee the organization of the production process so that certain kinds of films will not dominate production at the expense of other kinds. It would determine specific averages for recreational, cultural, historic, religious, and children's films, and others.

His view is that commitment to this plan will achieve a kind of balance in the country's cinematic culture and ensure the production of excellent works in various fields.

Terrorism and Cinematic Profit

Addressing film and its role in presenting the issues of extremism and terrorism, Dr. Mukhtar Yunis said that film had completely neglected these aspects and had even looked upon them with scorn and ridicule, without being aware, for example, of the causes that turned young people into extremists.

"Even when I showed investment executives that the issue had not been dealt with," he said, "they just ridiculed it, just like in the play *A Penny Worth Four*, with Nur al-Sharif.

On the real reasons for this neglect, Yunis said: "Producers look at the issues of terrorism and extremism as local issues. They see it as a purely commercial subject because it does not produce profits in distribution outside Egypt."

He added: "This puts the burden and the responsibility in general on the government and the educational institutions to resist the treatment of these important and sensitive issues, as well as other national issues."

Portrayal of the Islamic Personality

Yunis emphasized the importance of the role film must undertake in this regard, whether to facilitate the presentation of specific issues, accept or defend them, or, in the same way, warn against trends.

Islamic Culture of Technicians

He pointed to the great variety in the presentation of Islamic issues, which is exemplified by the rarity of a producer or screenwriter having any grounding in Islamic culture with which he might handle issues with true Islamic awareness without distorting or turning away from truth or fact.

Yunis added: "There is a plan to prepare curricula to train a number of film students to present these issues, which require a background in Islamic culture. We hope that this will be a way to confront the weakness and harm that exist in the country in this regard."

Yunis asserted that this trend—a religious director and screenwriter—if it comes about, would support the green [Islamic] cinema we seek, will help to create an enlightened public opinion, and spread the true principles of religion. It would have an effective role in opposing the extremist trend.

Terrorism 'Exploited' To Curb Democracy

93AF0334C Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 7 Dec 93 p 3

[Commentary by Dr. Muhammad 'Asfur]

[Text] In his article in AL-AHRAM on 25 November, Salah-al-Din Hafiz did not openly accuse the regime of blatantly exploiting terrorism in order to do away with the remains of the piecemeal democracy and of allowing [political party] licenses to be issued under the aegis of the worst martial law.

He said that "perhaps the spread of terrorism in this serious manner gives the enemies of democracy and human rights, even inside some of the regime's circles, an open excuse to demolish what is left of it." This would be followed by gagging mouths, restricting liberties, curbing freedom of belief, containing the civil society's active units, and unleashing the powers of the exceptional laws, the foremost of which is the emergency law. All this would be done under the pretext of focusing on resisting terror and curbing extremism. This idea finds encouragement among those hostile to democracy.

However, I do not agree with the writer that this would be "a target that would satisfy the arrogance of the extremists and achieves some of their objectives." As a result, an unholy alliance will be established between those hostile to democracy and the extremists who use violence against the regime. Indeed, I believe that if the regime had any wisdom it would have foiled the advocates of violence using the excuse of injustice, coercion, and suppression they use in order to take up arms.

This was what three National Assembly members—Fikri al-Jazzar, Ibrahim al-Namaki, and Kamal Khalid—called for on Sunday 24 November. They agreed that dealing with terror is not done by going back on democracy, but by giving more of it. They said it is constitutionally wrong to restrict the freedom to form political parties and that the Muslim Brotherhood and the various ideological trends and beliefs should be allowed to function. An assembly member and a former officer attacked the Muslim Brotherhood, in particular, accusing it of being the root from which all of the extremist groups have emerged. He pointed out their danger, citing the incident of the alleged attack on Nasir [president Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir], occupying the premises of trade unions, and storming the National Assembly. It is as if no elections were held by the government in which candidates of the Islamic trend did not win by a majority. But it is unfortunate that this situation should coincide with the strong Western hostility toward all of the Islamic movements that are falsely being accused of terrorism. This was stated by Fahmi Huwaydi in a 1 December AL-AHRAM article.

Awqaf Minister Claims Foreign Plot

93AF0333C Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 29 Dec 92 p 2

[Article by Mahmud al-Shadhili and 'Abd-al-Ilah Muhammad]

[Text] Qina—Awqaf Minister Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub has confirmed that there is a foreign plot against the Islamic religion aimed at projecting it to the world as a religion of fear, blood, and terror. The minister threw light on the dimensions of the plot, which is trying to build a high wall and a barrier between the youths and the government. He also confirmed that state revenues have been affected by attacks on tourists.

This statement was made by the minister at a major religious conference yesterday attended by students of the general secondary and preparatory schools, as well as al-Azhar schools in Qina Province. The conference also was attended by Qina Governor Yahya al-Bahnasawi; Dr. 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi, vice chancellor of 'Ayn Shams University; Shaykh 'Atiyah Saqr; and Shaykh Isma'il al-'Adawi. The awqaf minister stressed that there have been suspect attempts to penetrate the minds of Egyptian youths in order to destroy them. These attempts aim at spreading subversive political ideas and religious views that have nothing to do with Islam. The objective is to destroy these youths and obliterate their minds. The awqaf minister revealed that there is a foreign plot to destroy Egypt's economy and to harm Egyptian children through the call for "religious awakening."

He said: "But the awakening the ulema desire does not mean destroying the society, bringing about the collapse of its economy, killing innocent people, and arming youths in order to kill tourists."

Yahya al-Bahnasawi called for the need for all the political, popular, and executive powers to cooperate with the

security authorities in order to protect the tourists and face the wave of extremism that Egypt is experiencing. He confirmed that tourism is suffering from a recession and that workers have been laid off in Luxor because of the recent incidents in which tourists in Qina were targets. He said that income from tourism helps reducing unemployment and repaying Egypt's debts.

Shaykh 'Atiyah Saqr called for intensifying Islamic enlightenment and paying attention to religious studies. He urged young people from al-Azhar colleges to begin immediately propagating religious knowledge and explaining religious concepts to the people. He called on them to fight against aberration. Shaykh Saqr spoke against the idea of proclaiming the government and the people as infidels. Islam, he stressed, rejects the idea of one Muslim proclaiming his Muslim brother as infidel. He rejected the attempts by some people to discredit the ulema and accuse them of belonging to the authorities.

Shaykh Isma'il Sadiq al-'Adawi stressed that the emergence of trends that try to detract from Islam is due to the absence of sincere Islamic advocates.

Threat of Foreign Terrorism Cited

93AF0332C Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 4 Jan 93 p 3

[Article by 'Isam al-'Ubaydi: "Terrorism Exporting Countries Are Danger For Egypt"]

[Text] Egypt has suffered much from countries that export terrorism and still is suffering from their sins and wickedness. It recently was revealed, after a number of terrorist organizations were apprehended, that they were receiving funds from Iran and training in Sudan. The president publicly warned these two countries not to play with fire and export terrorism to Egypt. Because of the importance and sensitivity of the problem, AL-WAFD is carrying this report. We will try to answer many of the questions that recently have surfaced.

"The question, in my view, is whether the problem is the infiltration of smugglers or the export of terrorism."

Dr. Yunan Labib Rizq, a history professor and a member of the negotiating committee to regain Taba, began with this question. He added: "If the problem is merely the infiltration of smugglers or terrorists, good neighborliness demands that the two governments work together to stop the infiltration; indeed, the country that is the origin of the infiltration must make the utmost effort to stop it. Its silence would make it an accomplice.

"However, if certain governments export terrorism, train terrorists, and facilitate their coming to us to carry out terrorism operations, in that case these governments turn from politically and legally responsible governments into gangs. This happens for several reasons:

"First, such operations usually do not bring down governments, however hostile they may be.

"Second, such operations usually produce innocent victims, even if they are policemen.

"Such operations cause severe economic harm to the people of friendly countries, as has happened recently regarding tourism. We do not think that when Iran's ayatollahs or Khartoum's rulers did this they were aiming, for instance, at the small merchant in Khan al-Khalili or the vendor of limited resources in Luxor. Finally, however, the blow fell first on the heads of poor people such as these. The arrows of such operations usually hit poor citizens. That is the difference between responsible governments and the moves of irresponsible gangs.

"The solution in my judgment," he said, "is that as long as these governments operate according to gang logic, if there are any means to punish them by labeling them as international outlaws, such means ought to be used immediately, either by isolating them or even by overthrowing them. The initiator is the greater wrongdoer."

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 28 Dec 92 p 42



If tourists can bring hard currency into the country, we, too, can bring in hard currency!

Domestic Causes

Dr. Ahmad Yusuf, professor of international relations in the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, began by saying:

"First, I, as a citizen who follows events, am not sure whether there is direct or indirect support from Sudan

and Iran. The official statements on the issue have been contradictory. Some people say there is evidence for such support; others deny that such evidence exists.

"Nevertheless, if the allegations prove to be true, one can counter with all sorts of measures, such as turning to regional or international organizations.

"Also, there are other political means, such as closing and controlling borders. Finally, one can resort to military operations.

"More important, in my view, for eliminating terrorism is eliminating its domestic causes. If that is done, no external support will be able to achieve its goals."

Extremism and Our Just Stands

Major General Nabawi Isma'il, former interior minister, reminded us that this is not the first time Egypt has been exposed to such plots. "Throughout its history, Egypt has been exposed to such plots, although the motives and methods have differed. This derives from Egypt's principled just positions on local, regional, and international issues—positions that agree with Egypt's history, civilization, and leading position.

"These positions inevitably provoke the anger and hatred of a few countries with whose particular interests these positions are at odds—countries that offend against the principles of international justice and peace, for example by expansionist plots, seizing others' land by force, or stirring up racial animosities.

"Unfortunately, such countries do not behave like civilized countries, but like gangs. They are not in the right; otherwise, they would turn to diplomatic negotiations and mediation. Instead, they turn to devising conspiracies and terrorist plots and provoking intervention in others' affairs.

"Thank God, Egyptian security agencies have successfully foiled the schemes of these countries and uncovered their terrorist plots. As a result, these agencies have many achievements to their credit, as the world testifies. Security agencies use the following measures that we can reveal publicly:

"First, securing the infiltration points of terrorist elements and uncovering attempts to smuggle terrorist arms and equipment.

"Second, imposing strict surveillance on operations of forging passports and travel documents, as well as surveillance on points of entry and departure by sea, land, and air.

"Third, surveillance of elements who are agents or suspect and imposing surveillance on areas and places where they lodge.

"Fourth, penetrating hostile fronts and providing adequate information about their moves and attitudes, in addition to measures to safeguard and protect targeted public figures and places.

"Uncovering and exposing these failed plots in the media in order to mobilize all sectors of the people to be alert to such plots and counteract them with the police.

"Sadly, these hostile nations or fronts use a few foolhardy or extremist Egyptians to implement their goals."

Wali Accuses Iran of Conspiracy

93AF0343A Cairo AL-AHRAM WEEKLY
in English 2 Dec 92 p 2

[Article: "Wali Slams Iran"]

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister and ruling party Secretary General Yusuf Wali made the government's toughest yet attack on the Iranian leadership.

Deputy Prime Minister Yusuf Wali, who accused Iran last week of backing terrorist activities in Egypt, said on Monday that the Islamic Republic was planning aggressive action against the Gulf states also. In a sharp escalation of the war of words between the two countries, Wali vowed that Egypt would teach the rulers of Iran an "unforgettable lesson."

Wali said that Egypt has no aggressive intentions but neither will it tolerate aggression from others. Egypt will not allow Iran to carry out its schemes for "sabotaging the (Aswan) High Dam and Egyptian agriculture, undermining the economy, destabilising security and hitting tourism. Egypt will not remain silent on the terrorist training camps established along the borders of neighbouring states," he said.

Wali, who is also minister of agriculture and secretary general of the ruling National Democratic Party, was addressing a public rally at the city of al-Minya in central Egypt.

"Egypt will teach all conspirators a hard lesson," Wali said. Recalling that Egypt had made efforts to promote a rapprochement between the Sunni and Shiite sects of Islam, Wali said that "while Iran masses troops and makes plans for hitting Egypt," Egypt is planning to publish a book about the rapprochement between the two sects, authored by an Iranian exile.

Wali disclosed for the first time that the mastermind of President Anwar al-Sadat's assassination in October 1982 was a man called Salim Rahhal whom he described as a member of the Iranian Islamic Liberation party. Rahhal, he said, departed Egypt two weeks before al-Sadat was gunned down during a military parade at Nasr City.

Wali said that Iran's attempts to destabilise Egypt never stopped, and that following the assassination, the Iranians tried to undermine Egypt's economy by promoting so-called Islamic investment companies. "Now they are trying to hit tourism, which is the livelihood of several sections of the people," he said.

Wali said that "some hirelings in Sudan" decided to grant a piece of agricultural land there to Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the opposition Socialist Labour Party, which is allied with the Muslim Brotherhood. Shukri, he said, "tried to use this piece of land during the recent municipal elections at his hometown of Shirbin, in al-Daqahliya Province, by inviting farmers to emigrate to Sudan and work this land."

Even during the Iraq-Iran war, Egypt agreed to provide Iraq with defensive weapons only for the liberation of the al-Faw peninsula, which had been occupied by the Iranians. "And now Iran, which puts on the cloak of religion, is calling for aggression against Egypt, and sets up terrorist camps along our southern border and defames our political leadership," he said.

Wali said that the cultivation of beet instead of sugarcane in Upper Egypt has no relation whatsoever with the fight against terrorism but was started six years ago in order to conserve irrigation water. Press reports had indicated that terrorists who attacked a German tourist bus on 12 November were hiding in sugarcane fields around the city of Qina.

Press Accused of Spreading Anti-Islamic 'Poison'

93AF0336A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 2 Dec 93 p 4

[Article by Muhammad Isma'il: "What Do They Want of Islam?"]

[Text] To begin, we did not wish Islam to reach the condition it has now reached among us. Because of some thugs and hirelings, pens rise to attack God's religion as law and a way of life. Neither shame nor fear of God or consideration for faithful kinsmen has prevented these pens from persisting in their calumny. As soon as Islamic revival began to stir in the hearts of Muslim youth in the mid-1970's, the depraved, the sinful, the hypocrites, and the advocates of secularism who had lived in the bosom of infidelity, communism, and existentialism came out of their holes to fight Islamic revival with all the devilish and demonic power at their disposal. They started with women, egging them to bare their faces, disobey their husbands, and rebel against Islam's teachings. But God, may He be praised and exalted, hurled faith into the hearts of famous women, turning them overnight into faithful and penitent worshipers who rise at dawn to pray for forgiveness, who have abandoned worldly goods, including money and fame, and who have settled in their homes, paying no heed to those who chew people's honor and who defame and slander chaste women, may God be thanked. The percentage of veiled women exceeds that of women who do not cover their heads. God is truthful when He says, "With pleasure would they extinguish God's light with their mouths, but God will not allow but that His light should be perfected, even though the unbelievers may detest (it)" [Koran 9:32]. These people think that their pens can spread poison with which they obstruct God's light, which has penetrated the hearts of

His faithful servants, turning into mercy, tranquillity, security and safety. With His blessing, they have become believers.

Islam and Terrorism

Satan's supporters (and I beseech God to purge them of Satan's filth) have confused Islam with thugs, terrorism, highwaymen, and thieves. Islam is innocent of all of them. The faithful do not fornicate and do not lie. Therefore, those who take up murder and terrorism for a profession are not believers. So, why the confusion! A man who commits a crime and confesses to his crime without "coercion" must be punished for the crime, even if he is a sufi shaykh, the leader of a group, or a pious holy man. It is easy for a murderer, a criminal, and a first-class thug and fraud to turn into a Muslim missionary and a great struggler as soon as he alleges before the security agencies that he is a group amir, a leader, or a shaykh. Is it reasonable that Islam's enemies should continue to hold Islam responsible for these people's sins?

A lady reporter working at a weekly that has mobilized its expertise, pens, caricaturists, and all its ink, which is mixed with poison, to insult the faithful went to Asyut governor and said to him verbatim: "You are the reason for what the youth are doing. You are supposed to bring them, slay them publicly, and finish with them." The greatly respected lady added: "If I were in the Christians' place, I would take up arms and kill these people." His excellency the governor made no comment on these strange and amazing statements. By the way, the greatly respected lady reporter and her colleagues allege day and night that they are advocates of national unity and protectors of Egypt's security. Generally, if one has no shame in him, then let one do whatever one wishes.

What Does AL-AHRAR Writer Want?

AL-AHRAR is also spreading the poisons of sedition among Muslims, and sedition is worse than murder. Previously, AL-AHRAR made Faraj Fudah and inflated him until what happened came to pass, God be thanked. The paper has now been able to replace him with a writer who was expelled from al-Azhar University. Last week AL-AHRAR published an article that dealt with the opinion His Eminence Shaykh al-Sha'rawi expressed on the earthquake in an article published in AL-AKHBAR. AL-AHRAR took one paragraph of this article and distorted it, saying that Shaykh al-Sha'rawi expressed the legal [religious] opinion that spending on athletics is prohibited. With malice, they incited Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali. I am confident that they did not tell Shaykh al-Ghazali all that Shaykh al-Sha'rawi had said in his article, but said to him instead: "There is

somebody who has expressed the legal opinion that it is prohibited to spend on athletics." Al-Ghazali responded: "This is foolish."

Thus they succeeded in sowing sedition between Shaykh al-Sha'rawi and some other shaykhs. This is the evil habit of the hypocrites, the misled, and the misleading.

Just so what truly happened becomes known, Shaykh al-Sha'rawi did not express a legal opinion forbidding spending on athletics. Rather, he dealt with other issues. Here is the text of the shaykh's statements so that black will be separated from white and so that the shaykhs will learn what kind of deception has been practiced. The shaykh was speaking about the earthquake and the collapse of schools and about who is responsible. He said in part that there was failure on the part of the officials. Addressing the official in charge, the shaykh said:

"He could have suggested that spending on education is a duty, whereas spending on athletic activities, such as soccer tournaments and other sports, on some so-called cinema and theater art activities, on a lot of what is seen on the television screen, and on marginal recreational projects is not necessary, rather it is prohibited."

Let us consider the word "some" and the phrase "is not necessary" in the shaykh's statement. The prohibition is intended for indecent scenes in movies and plays and for unnecessary spending on sports rallies that cost millions of pounds. Shaykh al-Sha'rawi went on to add that "this spending must be channeled toward what is essential and licit. It has become necessary for us to watch carefully all aspects of spending on numerous conveniences." So where is the prohibition about which they have talked and on, which they say Shaykh al-Sha'rawi has expressed his legal opinion?

What the shaykh was referring to is wasteful and extravagant spending on all kinds of sports, on obscene, dissolute, and shameless dancing festivals, and on similar activities. He demanded that these expenditures be channeled toward what is beneficial to people in their worldly and religious life. Did the shaykh say something detestable in order that the press should kick up this storm and seek the opinion of other shaykhs on something al-Sha'rawi has not said? God be praised, and glory to God! What are these people describing? I appeal to the shaykhs to stand fast in the opinions they express to fellow reporters, especially the well-known variety of reporters who want to sow sedition, enmity, and hatred among the shaykhs and who want what is abominable, detestable, and unjust to spread among all people. I hope that His Eminence Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali will read our article to reconsider his position. He is a pious uncle of whom we are proud in the Islamic missionary arena.

Western News Services Blamed for Police Actions
93AF0366B Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 16 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by 'Imad 'Abd-al-'Aziz, Safwat al-Sandafawi, and Nabih 'Abd-al-Hamid: "What Happened in Imbabah"]

[Text] REUTERS NEWS AGENCY has succeeded in escalating the situation against Islamists in Imbabah. On the basis of the lies trumped up by the agency against Islamists, the Interior Ministry has invaded Imbabah to prove to the world and to the agency that it is capable of storming the quarter. This explains the invasion of Imbabah with nearly 15,000 troops.

This is one act in a series of schemes embraced by the Western media to escalate the position against the Islamists. After accusing Islamists of involvement in striking tourists, these media have fabricated lies against Imbabah Quarter, which suffers from poverty, negligence, and disregard by the popular and official agencies. But suddenly and without any preludes, Imbabah's name and news are filling the pages of domestic and foreign newspapers and magazines.

AL-NUR has penetrated the blockade imposed on Imbabah to provide a true account of the conditions in this area that has become the talk of the entire world. This report is the result.

Muhammad Jamal has said that the situation in Imbabah is extremely complex because the quarter is inhabited by a large number of people from Upper Egypt and by Islamists, as well as Christians. The truth of the matter is that people in Upper Egypt engage in somewhat violent activities, whereas Islamists commit no violations. But what is regrettable is that there is a strong conflict between the Islamic tendency and Christians in Imbabah and that this conflict intensified when a REUTERS reporter in Cairo went to interview amirs of Islamic groups. They refused to give the reporter the information she wanted, particularly because the reporter's appearance did not encourage the religious men to give such an interview. As a result, REUTERS fabricated lies to spite the Islamic tendency.

Churches Are Weapon Arsenals

The security agencies have invaded with 15,000 troops and turned Imbabah into a colony. Usamah Muhammad 'Awwad, a teacher, has added that the security forces have used churches as their headquarters and have turned them into weapons arsenals to strike the Islamic tendency in Imbabah. The security forces, in cooperation with Christians, have arrested more than 1,000 people. They have also closed businesses and schools, imposed a curfew, prohibited pedestrian traffic, and taken positions at mosque gates to prevent congregations from performing their prayers. Usamah Muhammad added that mosques were empty of congregations last Friday, except for few people. Moreover, a large number of Imbabah's residents have left the area to get away

from the hellish fire of the police forces and from indiscriminate, stray bullets. Fathallah Sa'd-al-Din, a government employee, has said that he has been arrested repeatedly just because he has a beard and the police are arresting bearded people. 'Abd-al-Qawi Muhammad, a student enrolled in higher studies at Dar al-'Ulum College, said that a minibus driver dropped him short of Imbabah and advised him not to enter it because the security forces have been arresting whomever they suspect of having a connection with the Islamists.

Mosque's Sanctity

'Adil 'Abd-al-Hadi, a company accountant, has said that all residents have denounced the strict blockade the security forces imposed on Imbabah and that the Islamists in Imbabah have conducted themselves in a normal manner that reflects a tolerant Islamic spirit, adding that "what happened is that we were surprised by police forces storming mosques during dawn prayers and arresting young men in particular. They even arrested a fava bean vendor who had gone into a mosque to perform his prayers and then returned to his business. They arrested him even though he had no connection with anybody."

Friday Ceremonies

Bakr 'Abd-al-Fattah from the Public Information Authority has asserted that Imbabah contains a mixture of individuals with criminal records and some disastrous people and that these are the people who engage in violence in Imbabah. They have police and court records connected with numerous activities that are far from religion. Suddenly, these people have grown beards, pretending to be religious in order to keep suspicions away from them. As a result, the security agencies have not been able to make a distinction between Imbabah's law-abiding citizens and thugs.

What is really interesting is that the area's drug traffickers have resorted to a certain method to ply their trade, holding imaginary ceremonies that they call "Friday wedding ceremonies." No bridegrooms and no marriages are involved, and the only purpose of these ceremonies is to push the biggest quantity of drugs they can push. Residents have tried to enlist the help of the police forces, but the latter have ignored their pleas. So the residents turned to Islamic groups, who have abolished these ceremonies and curtailed the drug traffickers' activities.

Al-Hajj 'Ali al-Suwaysi, a 70-year-old man, has told us what he knows about the Islamic group, saying: "You mean the Sunni people. These are good and honorable people who have provided numerous services to the destitute, including pensions for orphans, widows, and old people. They provide aid to the needy, and they take part in settling family disputes that occur the area, and they reconcile all parties involved."

Ahmad, al-Suwaysi's 26-year-old son, added that "members of the groups have taken part in doing a lot for the youth, especially those who are engaged in dishonorable work, such as drug traffickers, thugs, and the entourages

of female dancers. These activities have made people like them and go to them for solutions to their problems. But in my opinion, the most important thing the groups do is facilitate marriage of the young and urge parents not to demand excessive dowries and to select the right husbands for their daughters."

Imaginary Amir

As for Shaykh Jabir, the prince [amir] of terror in Imbabah who was arrested recently by the security agencies, Muntasir al-Zayyat, an attorney, has said: "This Shaykh Jabir is an ordinary citizen and a member of the Islamic tendency. But he is not a leader or an amir, as the Interior Ministry agencies allege. Before he was arrested, he and the official press had declared that he was a very ordinary person. Therefore, the report circulated by REUTERS is untrue. The interesting question is: Why are these incidents occurring now, even though the Islamic group has engaged in its activities in Imbabah for years? Moreover, why has Shaykh Jabir risen to the top despite the presence of other leaders in the area who have college degrees? The security agencies arrested some of these leaders but have not done the same thing with them.

"This demonstrates that the security agencies do not wish to reflect the true character of the group or of the educated class that this group includes. Why do they dishonor Shaykh Jabir because he was a drummer? Is drumming proscribed? Why do the government accuse whoever says this of radicalism and terrorism? If one was a radical and a terrorist but has repented, is it a disgrace?"

Police and Cause

As for the reasons that have made some youth resort to violence with the police, a member of the Islamic group who declined to reveal his name has said that the "most important reason is the arrest by the police nearly three years ago of all the well-balanced leaders who led Islamic action in a sound manner, such as Dr. Ahmad 'Abduh Salim, Dr. Mahmud Shu'ayb, Hasan al-Gharbawi, and Sha'ban 'Ali Ibrahim. This arrest has led to offhanded actions on the part of their followers, and the proof is that when these leaders were not in jail, such incidents did not happen. The Islamic group has repeatedly demanded release of the arrested leaders so all such incidents will end. But all endeavors have failed because the police has intervened. Thus, it was normal that the group would lose control over its members who have fled to the cities, mountains, and the fields."

The member added that the "security agencies are the party that pushed the group members to adopt this method. The group has always urged the police forces not to persist in torturing and humiliating Islamists so they will not be forced to respond to such coercive and illegal measures that are incompatible all international traditions and human rights charters, but to no avail. Add to this expulsion from work or school, especially during examinations, and the heinous torture to which

the detained are subjected for the most trivial reasons. I do not know why the Interior Ministry continues to insist on confrontation even though intellectuals, as well as the Islamic tendency, have been unanimous on the inevitability of dialogue and competition. The security agencies continue to be the only obstacle standing in the way. This is why I tell the security agencies that they employed the same methods against the Islamic group at 'Ayn Shams in the days of Zaki Badr, but failed. These methods will not succeed because opinion can only be fought with counteropinion."

Why Imbabah?

Mahmud Riyad, an attorney, has said, "If sectarian sedition was behind the past incidents in Upper Egypt and behind the attacks on tourists, then was there sectarian sedition in Imbabah before the security forces entered it? Were tourists attacked there? Is there tourism or are there tourist shrines in Imbabah? So why did the security forces enter Imbabah? If the interior minister has asked that the numbers of radicals not be exaggerated, then what justified the entry of 12,000 troops and officers from all specializations and supported by all kinds of weapons, beginning with bladed weapons and ending with armored vehicles, to Imbabah? If the police and state agencies reprove foreign media for the exaggerated manner with which they deal with the incidents, then what excuse do the government papers and media have for exaggerating the issue in a manner that scares any investor away from depositing or investing his money in Egypt, considering that they are given the impression that terrorism has reached the exaggerated dimensions depicted by the Egyptian security agencies?"

In Violation of Constitution

Dr. 'Abd-al-Mun'im Abu-al-Futuh, the assistant secretary general of the Arab Doctors Federation, has emphasized that the security forces' entry into Imbabah is in violation of the Constitution and the law, that the Imbabah blockade can only generate further violence and destruction, and that this intervention by the Ministry of Interior will only lead to more bloodshed, for which we will all pay a price. Ultimately, all this can only harm the country's and Islam's interest.

Reasons for Youth Crime, Extremism Reviewed

93AF0339C Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
9 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Majid: "Two-Sided Coin: Upper Egypt Teenagers and Urban Sidewalk Strugglers; Egypt Is Targeted; Our Negligence Creates Climate for Terrorism"]

[Text] There is no crime without a criminal. Arresting a "perpetrator" does not mean ending the crime, closing its investigation files, and exposing the ambiguity, perplexity, and mystery that engulfs it. Investigating the causes, motives, and the "criminal" environment must inevitably lead to bigger criminals who have contributed unwittingly to creating this criminal and sending him out into the world to perpetrate his crimes in the dark until he is caught. When he is caught, the picture is made

clear, and the reasons become obvious: a poor and pressuring environment, deep-rooted ignorance exploited by somebody, an instinctively criminal character, and dissolute company. The criminal's lack of awareness is such that it makes no difference to him whether he opens fire on a tourist bus, attacks public transportation passengers with bayonets and penknives, or assaults a university professor inside or outside the university at any time!

The crime is even greater in the capital and the major cities, where the police surprise us by telling us that the "gang structure," as the investigators put it, is made up of very young men who wear their hair long, who dress up in clothing inscribed with foreign names and pictures, and whose eyes wander aimlessly. We become even more surprised when we learn that these young men's fathers are cabinet undersecretaries and men who hold prominent social positions. They are even the sons of famous "stars" who, with their ignorance and their preoccupation with their own affairs, give their children blind "freedom" and turn a blind eye to their activities. In one gang, a young criminal in the most beautiful years of his life stands before the investigating authorities with head bowed. What is strange is that the common factor among all such fathers is that they say (emphatically): "We were not aware of it. It is a surprise to us. We have held back nothing, and we have provided everything. By God, we are stunned!"

Destructive Boasting

Similarly, according Dr. Yusuf 'Izz-al-Din 'Isa, a prominent literary figure, this same type of group, wearing rural clothing, is found in the countryside and in Upper Egypt's hamlets. In a harsh environment that places a tremendous amount of pressure on the minds of juveniles, some of whom are no more than 14 years old, this group grows up in an surroundings that promote revenge, where people vie in expressing their joy by shooting their weapons into the air, and where fathers boast that their very young sons can handle a Kalashnikov as well as the best men can. The issue is not tied to just radicalism and terrorism in the name of religion. We stand at a serious crossroads because Egypt is targeted. Our prolonged negligence has created the climate for terrorism. For dozens of years, we have not given any thought to a method to utilize these teenagers, who spend the most critical phase of their life in a closed society that encourages early, and armed, manhood in an environment surrounded by an iron curtain and lacking the psychological element that must be secured for these young men.

It is not an issue of building schools. What is more important is to establish public parks, athletic clubs, educational centers to polish the mind, and an enlightened and unfabricated religious call. The "prescriptions" offered by psychiatrists have been regurgitated by the media for dozens of years. As soon as a phenomenon or a crime connected with these features occurs, these psychologists rush to offer a fundamental analysis of the incident in every newspaper and on every television and radio station. Is the expression of all these psychological

"opinions" intended to fill the need and cover the issue? Have we really benefited throughout this period from the psychologists' expertise in developing a strategy for the hamlets and the villages—a scientific strategy that takes into account what occurs in Upper Egypt and in the countryside, which constitutes the larger part of Egypt? Have we considered the nature of the environment, the kind of void that exists, and the work opportunities?

Egypt Is Targeted

We must acknowledge that those who have targeted Egypt and its deep-rooted position look at these wide gaps and infiltrate through them. Otherwise, what are the objectives behind persuading 16-year-olds to attack tourist buses, to throw explosive charges at their compatriots, and to frighten peaceful individuals? What is more, a very calm and mature discussion with one of these young people will demonstrate that they are confused and misled and that they have nothing in their heads. The strategy that we lack also represents a terrible void.

On the other side, i.e., in the big cities, other manifestations are seen: Sleek cars are driven by juveniles who have no driver's license in al-Muqattam Plateau, al-Muntazah Park, in remote and dark places in Nasr City and Heliopolis, along the Nile Corniche, in al-Ma'adi and Hulwan, and in car parks on the Alexandria Corniche. There is no need to mention what goes on in these cars. The question is: Who gives the keys to these people and allows them to stay out until late hours of the night?

Cars hurtle down the streets like U.S.-made missiles, with these juveniles and their friends riding on the hoods and zooming up and down Arab League Street, al-Zamalik, al-'Ajami, al-Muntazah, and other areas. They scare pedestrians with their hysterical laughing, demented yelling, boundlessly silly clowning, and dead feelings that give no consideration and no regard to the protesting eyes and complaining shouts. One car, with its riders inside and outside wearing camouflage fatigues, looks like a commando car. All it lacks is weapons! As for motorcycles, they are a special manifestation that reflect all kinds of boasting, annoyance, and demonstration of the ability to drive on one wheel. This is unjustifiable, unless it is done as part of a foreign cell that is being developed with Egyptian elements!

Strange gatherings of these youths are seen on street corners and in main squares of the major cities of Cairo, al-Jizah, and Alexandria and in the major governorates. They engage in "silly" activities for hours, using vulgar language, talking about extraordinarily "heroic" acts, and making rude jokes and offensive comments about whomever comes close to or passes next to their discussion circles!

As for what happens in athletic clubs, discos, and furnished apartments rented on a daily basis, it is strange

and interesting. Some athletic clubs have devoted positive attention to the serious things that are going on, and their firm managements have bared their teeth, taking control of everything. As for the other clubs, they do not even have a tooth to start with.

Rejected Model

The educational role required of the various institutions—home, worship house, and specialized institutes—is absent and missing, according to Dr. 'Abd-al-Fattah Hajjaj, dean of the Education College. Issues of a provocative nature are not tackled with goodwill. We in the media, for example, offer a rejected model. We even make things worse by presenting the good with the bad and the lean alongside of the fat, thus reflecting our contradictions. We are dealing with young and brittle minds who pick up anything and who emulate everything during critical phases of their life. We are all responsible for the characteristic of terrorism with which these people are saddled. To a large degree, the role of parents, whether suffering the hardship of poverty or eagerly boasting of social status, is the same in the capital and the village. By giving their children their cars without question, by allowing them a free rein, and by failing to devote educated attention to their children's personal problems, which happens even in small villages, children grow up in a society governed by certain customs. Socially and athletically, the youth suffer from services that do not release their creativity and do not touch off their capabilities at the "peak" of the self-expression phase. In a restricted climate, some circles receive the youth eagerly and exploit their emotions to teach them faulty concepts in the name of religion. This is done in the presence of a deficient family concept that stops at a certain limit and in the absence of influential government institutions to absorb the youth's capabilities. Within this framework, youth in Upper Egypt, for example, become easy prey for the ambitions of those who wish to exploit them and to use the immense void in their lives to execute certain schemes. The peers of these young people who were compelled by their conditions to emigrate to the cities are characterized by a positive quality. One finds them doing all kinds of simple work in commerce, construction, garages, restaurants and shining shoes, with honor and with respect for the value of work. They preoccupy themselves with earning a livelihood, and they fill all the hours of their day, without giving any thought to deviation or giving others the opportunity to exploit them. They may suffer from social and athletic deprivation, for example. But at least they live their lives nobly and they strive ceaselessly. They are interested, they think, and they are united with their fellow citizens.

Easy Prey

Dr. Hajjaj has added that as a phenomenon, young terrorists—although they may differ in form, place, surroundings; although they may come from environments that hold different concepts; and although they may have grown up under different circumstances—share numerous

elements created by our prolonged negligence: family negligence, which is reflected in pampering children, in a lack of control, in a family supporter who is abroad, in entrusting children to bad companions without checking on them, and in negligence that allows children to boast of driving a car or a motorcycle or to demonstrate their manliness by carrying weapons. Both types of neglected youth share the quality of being easy prey for evil ideas, such as trying drugs, engaging in theft, and getting excessively involved in youth "sessions" and youth practices just for the sake of self-gratification. Without a well-studied policy, without an established model to follow, without a real understanding of the values of goodness, art, and beauty, and even of true belonging to a country whose air they breathe, we should not be surprised or amazed in the end when they are caught in gang organizations or when they emerge from sugarcane fields to ruthlessly rain their bullets on tourist buses.

'Ali al-Jundi, an artist who has been awarded a state prize, said: "We need national solidarity to draft a strategy that takes all youth into consideration. We must admit that we have for many years needed a system by which all of the agencies participate in developing our view of Egypt's countryside and of Upper Egypt. The scope is wide here. Ultimately we will discover that negligence will cause us to create young terrorists at the national level and to offer them as easy prey to those waiting to exploit this good land's sons and to make them strike their fellow citizens foolishly; to take full advantage of their psychological conditions; and to fill their hearts with a strange hatred based on misguided ideas. What is strange is that ultimately the exploiters stay behind the scenes and push the exploited to carry out their strange terrorist attacks against tourists."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Fattah, director of the Western Delta Antiquities District, said: "When the way young men understand antiquities leads them to attack these antiquities, when they are pressured by faulty ideas, and when their emotions, which are explosive in this phase, are exploited to make them attack their country's heritage, then this is strange and alarming. It is a sign that one must begin to give serious consideration to confronting the issue scientifically. We do not worship or sanctify antiquities, but they are a part of our country's history. We are proud of them, and the entire world is proud that we possess them. This means that these juveniles have not read their country's history and that they lack the simplest components of awareness of the importance of preserving national resources and people's lives, at least from a religious standpoint and not just from an economic standpoint. What is going on reflects the level of the ideas planted in the minds of juveniles by the terrorist leaders in a skilled professional manner. It shows how they exploit the void in the juveniles' lives, as well as showing the failure of village institutions. There is no difference here between a juvenile terrorist from Upper Egypt and an urban teenage terrorist. They are

both victims of society's circumstances and ideas, of frozen family interest, and of a closed circle of customs and traditions.

Starting Point

Ultimately, there remains a word to be said. This report and these words, like others, give an outline of what is going on, especially because what is going on is connected with the nation's future and with its true wealth, i.e., its youth. The issue is not how professionally this or that problem is projected or how strong the focus on its dimensions is. The issue is one of needing a starting point and focused thinking and effort. What is required is understanding and the employment of all the capability of our institutions. Everybody here and there has contributed to the process of hatching terrorism through his negligence, silence, lack of effort, and futile negativism. This is not an issue of sound words, but one of a serious, sincere, and honest effort.

Research Paper Explores Student Extremism

93AF0337A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF
in Arabic 14 Dec 92 pp 35-39

[Article by Ibrahim Faraghi: "Students Will Not Desist From Extremism!"]

[Text] Al-Minya University has witnessed an important university paper, the first of its kind. It discusses the causes of violence by Egyptian students, especially in Upper Egypt. We present the paper, which may not have reached the hands of Egyptian officials yet, with all its significance, importance, and details. For certain reasons, we shall not mention the researcher's name.

Why are extremists common in the universities? Why do they succeed in gaining supporters, members, and votes? Why do 26 out of every 60 cases of violence in Egyptian society involve students? Why? Why? Why? Not just these three questions—dozens of questions have arisen to occupy people's minds since the beginning of the 1970's with the joint government-religious tide in Egyptian universities. Here in al-Minya, an academic researcher has decided to delve into the issue of students belonging to extremist groups.

The researcher chose the faculties of arts, education, engineering, and agriculture for the study sample because these faculties have the greatest concentration of students at al-Minya University: 9,613 students, or 72.5 percent, out of a total of 13,348. The size of the sample, in accordance with certain statistical laws, was 384 students. It contained 339 Muslim (79 percent) and 89 Christian students (21 percent).

First List

Between 1971 and 1991, there were strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, arrests, disturbances, attempted coups, torture, and prosecution. Statistically, there were 469 cases, with increases and decreases from one year to

another. However, the years 1977 and 1990 saw the largest rate of cases of violence in Egyptian society: 74 cases in 1977 and 128 cases in 1990.

The researcher shows that students took first place in acts of violence, participating in 26 of every 60 cases (approximately 47 percent).

The researcher thinks that the rise in the rates for these years is significant when one considers that the period witnessed a marked spread of the religious tendency in the universities. This spread received encouragement from a government that wanted to use the trend to strike at political currents that were opposed to its ideas. Indeed, the state sometimes engaged in secret negotiation with the Islamic groups. Such cooperation took place in the city of al-Minya between the security apparatus and Islamic groups during the March 1990 sectarian unrest. Members of the religious groups had to monitor out-of-line Christians, arrest them, and turn them over to the police for delivery to the public prosecutor. The role of the police was marginal: the members of these groups were the real policemen in the city of al-Minya. Religious group members revealed this fact in the wake of the clash that took place between the group and the police. As a result, the groups performed the role of the public prosecutor in some cases, with their members questioning some of the girls they had apprehended in a brothel.

Change by the Sword

The study questioned the effectiveness of methods of force in causing change in the university community. It found that 130 students (31 percent of the sample) believe that violence contributes to causing change in the university. Two hundred ninety-eight (69 percent of the total sample) do not think using violence is an effective method.

However, although the majority of students hold this opinion, some elements clearly still believe in the value and, indeed, the legitimacy of violent methods. The author cites the opinion of one student who belongs to the religious current, who said: "We believe in the legitimacy of the actions we perform. We shall not desist until the values and standards of Muslim society return to the university campus. We know this will cause us a great deal of trouble and that we ourselves shall not reap the fruit of our work. We do it so that future generations may reap the fruits. Confrontation between us and the regime that protects those values in the university community is inevitable. We are targeted by the regime, which is always trying to encircle us. Why should we turn our backs to it and allow it to turn its guns on our backs? Jihad, according to our authentic Islamic concept, is not only against those who attack us in our homes or seize part of the land of Islam. Jihad is also against those who brandish the sword of authority against our call, refusing to let us go to the people to summon them to God's religion and rule them by His law."

Open-Door Policy and Violence

Everything, even violence, begins with economics. Especially violence! The open-door economic policy and unemployment are the first causes of religious violence at the university.

The study indicates that an open-door policy that was followed with insufficient public preparation and participation in decisionmaking and that was implemented haphazardly led to an accumulation of negative impacts on the social structure. Problems increased. Young people's dreams vanished. Standards changed. The structure became disturbed; or rather, it was struck by an earthquake that caused the community to lose its balance and standards.

Not only did the open-door era coincide with the emergence of Islamic movements carrying the banner of political, social, and economic rejectionism, but the student scene was a fertile field for the activity of these religious movements. Violence was one of their most important tools vis-a-vis the community.

The researcher polled the study sample about the relationship between the open-door economic policy and social standards. A majority of the students expressed agreement with the view that the open-door policy caused a breakdown of prevailing standards and values: 356 subjects (about 83 percent) agreed with this view.

On the other hand, 72 subjects (about 17 percent of the total sample) disagreed, seeing no relation between the open-door economic policy and the standards of Egyptian society.

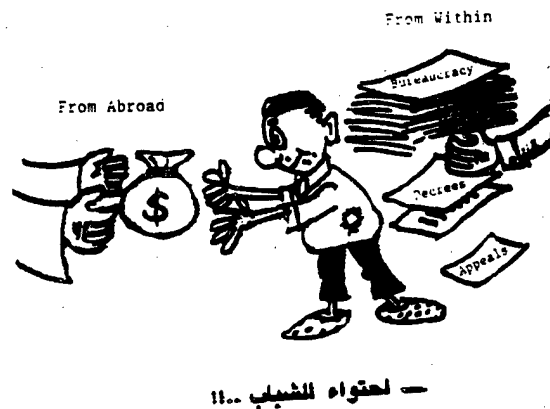
The researcher cites a study on the development of democracy in Egypt to demonstrate how Egyptian students react to economic crises. The study indicated that the student movement expressed an accumulation of factors: the economic crisis, the widening incomes gap, and the aggravated social contradictions that resulted from the private economic activities that the ruling elite encourages in the private sector, not to mention parasitical profits. This has led students to call for a halt to the production of luxury goods and an end to privileges for private sector leaders.

On the relation of the open-door policy to the phenomenon of class disparity that Egyptian society is witnessing, a majority of subjects—378 out of a total sample of 428 students (88 percent)—agreed that the open-door economic policy has caused class disparity. This means that only 12 percent of the total sample did not agree with this view.

The researcher found that 335 students (78 percent of the individuals of the sample) agreed that there is a relation between the spread of consumerism that accompanied the period of economic opening and increased feelings of frustration among students. In other words, the majority of students stated that there is a relation between the two variables and that feelings

of frustration exist that are creating tension between students and preparing the atmosphere for violent incidents.

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 14 Dec 92 p 24



Recruiting Youths

According to the researcher, an individual usually joins forces with the group that satisfies his social, economic, and political needs. This is because the group possesses special influence that makes it a medium between the state and the community. The group acts as an effective exertor of social and political pressure.

This supports the view that the religious groups, with their social fabric in the university community, have been able to satisfy the needs of some students who were suffering from the absence of an alternative to such groups.

According to the researcher, the second economic aspect that helped aggravate acts of violence within the university was unemployment. This is one of the factors that is most disturbing to the community's balance and structure.

Some might deny any direct relation between unemployment and student violence, because students are not yet at the hiring or employment stage. However, the researcher states that although today's students are still at the education stage, education is, for them, one of the basic channels through which they pass into the job market. Seen this way, education is a means, while being hired constitutes an end. The disappearance of the end robs the means of value and importance. Therefore one cannot separate students from a sense of the specter of unemployment.

In a poll of students' opinions on the nature of the relationship between unemployment and youth delinquency, 377 subjects (88 percent) agreed that a relationship exists, while 51 subjects (12 percent of the sample) held that there is no relationship.

Three hundred sixty-five students (85 percent of the total sample) agreed that acts of protest by students result from their feeling that their future job opportunities are limited.

The study notes that this was a direct cause of a top-level parliamentary committee's undertaking a study of the acts of student violence that erupted during the 1972-73 academic year. The committee arrived at a number of recommendations in its report on the events, including recommending that the government rethink labor force planning to make use of the graduates in their specialties.

This recommendation that the committee issued at the time indicates that the vocational dimension was one of the main reasons for the outbreak of student demonstrations at Egypt's universities. The concept of a vocational dimension, as the committee's report made clear, was linked to the appointment of graduates to jobs in fields other than their specialties. If this was a factor that induced student protest activity despite a guarantee of the existence of jobs, how much more is it a factor for us today, more 18 years later, when what used to be said about being appointed to a job in one's specialty has become an unrealizable dream for students! This causes even more cases of grumbling and readiness to rebel and protest.

The researcher says that one advertisement for positions published at al-Minya University revealed something very distressing. The positions to be filled were at the custodial level and did not require diplomas of those who would fill them. Yet, when applications were received, officials were surprised that many of the applicants for the positions held diplomas ranging from intermediate secondary to university. They knew the value of the position, but they were less concerned about its value than about obtaining a steady income to help them out of their social and psychological crises.

This fact reveals the existence of a functional disorder between the structural patterns of Egyptian society, which have come to lack balance. The functional exploitation of these patterns has come to be much greater than is theoretically allowable. Thus the gaps between the possible and the impossible have increased; the components of stability have been negated, and tension has prevailed. Opportunities for social delinquency have become possible, even likely.

Another question in the study concerns the relationship between the government's abandonment of graduate hiring and the decrease of national loyalty among young people. Three hundred eleven students (about 73 percent of the sample) agreed that young people's sense of loyalty and national affiliation has decreased because of the government's ceasing to appoint graduates to jobs. This

has increased feelings of frustration and disappointment among job seekers. The government and all of its agencies are, in the eyes of young people, responsible for this. Having granted young people at one time a right to job appointment, the government afterwards became increasingly unable to fulfill this promise. As a result, young people feel they have been tricked by the regime, and so they move from an attitude of loyalty and affiliation to one of anger and grumbling.

The researcher attributes the disagreement of 27 percent of the sample to the fact that these students may come from faculties such as education, whose graduates enjoy special care that renders them virtually certain of obtaining a position after graduation. This means that they do not feel the force of the breakdown.

The Jobless and Extremists

Perhaps touching on the subject of unemployment always raises the issue of young people's diminishing confidence in the social and political system. The researcher has examined this in the study sample. He found that 376 students (87 percent) agree with the view that links the spread of unemployment among young people and the existence of a state of no-confidence between them and the agencies responsible for this state of affairs. This confirms the existence of a state of breakdown and poor planning that has kept young people from public participation in community issues.

The researcher believes that the cultural self-contradiction that Egyptian society is witnessing because of the multiplicity of cultural models, the disunity among their conflicting elements, and the lack of an information philosophy with patriotic dimensions have been among the structural factors encouraging the spread of hostile currents among young people.

The researcher found that 66 percent of the sample acknowledge that there are religious groups practicing violence at Egyptian universities. Sixty percent of the sample also believes that the violence that these groups practice has its reasons and justifications—that it is violence with definite motives, not random and unintentional.

The study revealed the following opinions about why religious groups turn to using violence at the university:

One hundred eighty-nine students (30 percent) attributed the reason for violence by the groups to cases of a male student being alone with a female student. One hundred twenty-eight students (20 percent) said that the reasons lie in the spread of revealing clothes and indecent ornaments. Seventy-five students (12 percent) explained that the reason was public eating during the Ramadan fast. One hundred seventeen students (18 percent) attributed the causes of violence to mixed-sex excursions, and 76 students (12 percent) stressed the use of musical instruments at student parties. Finally, 47 students (8 percent) attributed the cause of violence by

religious groups at universities to the feeling by the members of these groups of what they consider to be hostility toward them.

In addition to the preceding variables, the question was worded so that the researcher could learn some of the views that some subjects believe form a reason that justifies the use of force by religious groups. The researcher recorded the following responses:

- Some subjects said that the reasons for violence lie in nonadherence to the Koran and the sunnah and the spread of religious and moral decadence.
- Some stated that the reasons for violence lie in the spread of corruption everywhere, assaults on things sacred to Muslims, playing tricks with the law, lack of conscience, government corruption, and the prevalence of bribery.
- The restriction of religious activity and its prohibition inside the university.
- Prosecution of everyone who expresses religious interest.

These individual responses show that their authors are religious group members who believe that the standards that regulate social relations within the university have broken down.

University Has Role

The researcher cites the results of one study that affirms that some factors that make some religious group members extremists and bigots can be attributed to what young people see as inadequate care for them and inadequate guidance, especially in religious areas, on the part of the university as an educational institution. Young people also see and hear about cases of corruption and embezzlement that the law sometimes cannot deal with and combat. This has made young people lose trust in the responsible agencies and has generated a desire in their minds to resist and rebel.

When the researcher surveyed the sample about why some students sympathize with members of the religious groups, the responses were as follows:

- because they express the feelings of the students—22 percent;
- because they combat moral corruption—50 percent;
- because they wrap their claims in religion—14 percent;
- because they are a strong and effective organization—8 percent;
- because they use violence and terrorism against corruption—6 percent.

The researcher states that some students mentioned particular views that added some variables to the previous ones. Among them was that fear of the power of the religious groups was a reason for expressing sympathy with them. As the researcher indicates, this is

sympathy not so much out of conviction about their methods as out of an attempt to avoid a collision with them.

The researcher surveyed the size of religious group membership among the individuals sampled and found that 77 students (18 percent) were members, while 351 students (82 percent) in the sample did not belong to these groups.

The researcher indicated his belief that some students who belong to the religious groups do not want to announce their membership, either because they fear being followed by the police who have clearly infiltrated the students or because they fear information collectors.

As for the ways in which one becomes a member of a group, the researcher found that five basic means were mentioned in the responses of students who were group members:

- through my attending certain religious meetings at the university—20 percent;
- through my frequenting a certain mosque to worship—27 percent;
- through one of my friends who belongs to the group—23 percent;
- through a teacher before I entered the university—20 percent;
- through a member of my family who is a member of the group—10 percent.

Future of Violence

What is the relation between a continued role for the religious groups and the possibility of effecting change in the university community?

The study showed that 198 subjects (46 percent of the total sample) believe that continued activity by the religious groups at the university could bring about a better situation at the university than at present. This indicates that these subjects are convinced that the university community needs change to move it to a state that is better than its present one.

The researcher indicates that the administration of al-Minya University and the administrations of other universities have responded to some of the demands that Islamic students have presented, including demands relating to separating male and female students in classrooms and lecture halls, in means of transportation, and other matters. This gives the impression that although a continued role by these groups within the university may not be able to change the university community completely, at least it will be able to bring about some changes of social significance in the university community. This may be a source of the conviction that students have about the roles of these groups in the university.

On the other hand, 230 subjects (54 percent) rejected this view. In other words, they do not believe that the religious groups can cause change in the university community.

The researcher attributes the reasons for their rejecting the view to the espousing of a policy of violence by these groups. This means that the security forces will meet violence with counterviolence that will increase the tension at the university. This is something that does not guarantee the realization of any change for the better.

Or it may be because these students have a conviction that the members of these groups have no integrated programs that will guarantee them the agreement of the university's official agencies to carry them out. Furthermore, the overall social system will not permit the growth of these groups whose method includes the use of violence. The system will not give them any chance that anyone could imagine will bring about change.

These, then, are all the reasons—all the details.

And so it is clear—very clear—that the cycle of violence will continue, simply because the cycle of causes continues.

Youths Asked To Clear Ranks of 'Infiltrators'

93AF0334E AL-WAFD in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 2

[Article By Majdi Dhalam: "How Do We Eliminate the Phenomenon of Violence"]

[Text] There is no doubt that freedom of thought and frank dialogue and providing opportunities to express views, ideas, and trends through the legitimate political and media channels is bound to absorb anger, win over the Islamic groups, and eliminate violence. This was stated by Islamic ulema and politicians. They also said that violence only begets violence and that murder does not eliminate thought, which indeed remains with the people. History is the best witness to that.

Through this investigative article, we will try to offer a prescription for the violence and disturbances from the standpoint of the Islamic ulema.

Dr. Muhammad 'Abd al-Latif Mushtahiri, an Islamic researcher, said the problem does not lie in the establishment of an Islamic plurality because the creation of an Islamic party means that all of the other parties and individuals who do not belong to this party are not Muslims. Rather, the sound solution and the effective treatment to absorb these Islamic trends and movements is to give them the freedom to express their views, ideas, trends, and objectives through the existing, legitimate, state-owned media channels, whether radio, television, newspapers, magazines, interviews with officials, or listening to their complaints. They should have free exchange and discussions with ulema in a free dialogue that is open to all. If an ulema is unable to hold discussions with them or was unable to respond to them,

it will not be an embarrassment because another ulema can be brought to talk to them. There is no restrictions on freedom of thought in Islam. The violent method to which the state resorts in dealing with these groups is unsound. Killing a person because of his thoughts is wrong. Man may vanish, but the thoughts remain with the people. History is the best witness to that.

Mushtahiri added: "Complete freedom should be granted to these people so that they can express their views and objectives. They should be allowed to write in newspapers and magazines, and their views should be responded to, because this is in the interest of both the government and the society."

He believes that creating an Islamic party consisting of these groups is an unsound idea. This, he said, is considered a "political tactic" and would be an opportunity to eliminate these groups. But the right approach is to penetrate all of the legitimate channels with total freedom.

Shaykh Yusuf al-Badri said that the upheaval we are witnessing will end only when the rules of shari'ah are applied and when such laws reach the seat of power. This is everybody's objective. Islamic principles stress that it is unimportant who governs us, even if he is a black Ethiopian. What is important is what he governs with.

Shaykh al-Badri said that "if Islamic parties are established for the purpose of absorbing anger and as a means to mislead the people, I do not think that this will do away with what the Islamic nation is suffering from now."

"I would like to stress," Shaykh al-Badri continued, "that we have proposed this idea before. Before the incidents occurred, a request for the establishment of the Islamic Awakening Party was submitted, but the committee on party affairs in the Consultative Council rejected it with no justifications. The case has been before the courts for four years."

When asked if there was political plurality in Islam, he said: "The term 'parties,' if used incorrectly, as it is being used today, is categorically rejected by Islam because it is founded on absolute democracy and based on the views of the majority, regardless how wrong its views are. But if pluralism is considered in its Islamic context, that is, if it is following a practical course under the aegis of Islam and is similar to having different schools of thought, then the Islamists welcomes it. But if the concept of democracy means accepting the view of the majority, then we will not welcome it. Legally, this is wrong because the majority could be representing evil ideas and deviant trends." Citing an example, he said: "At the Badr convention, 'Umar Bin-al-Khattab disagreed with God's Prophet over many things; yet God's Prophet, peace be upon him, accepted him."

Moreover, he added that the existing parties are always in opposition, whether the ruler does well or not. As for the Islamic parties, their approval or disapproval is

based on the harmony of government with the law. If the ruler does well, then they support him. If he misbehaves, they oppose him and rectify the situation, as Abu-Bakr al-Siddiq, may God bless him, said.

Therefore, the way to absorb these [Islamic] groups and assimilate them is to establish Islamic parties in accordance with the constitutional provisions. Article 2 of the resolution provides that the state religion is Islam, that Arabic is its official language, and shari'ah is the main source of legislation. Articles 5 and 11 and other articles provide that the shari'ah may not be violated.

As for the law on parties, it clearly provides that the principles of any party should not be contrary to the shari'ah. Any party that violates this should be rejected. Therefore, changes should be carried out in the existing parties in order to comply with this provision of the law.

Speaking with great emotion, Islamic writer Dr. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman said: "Solving our problems lies in holding 100-percent free and honest elections in order to restore legitimacy in Egypt. All the disasters, strife, and civil wars were caused by the fact that the present government is extortionist and does not represent legality. It does not know the meaning of democracy or human rights. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to do as much as we can until a satisfactory regime is established. After that, we will not be afraid of all of these powers and trends. Then all the world's clandestine forces will come to the surface and operate openly and have offices, chairmen, and officials. They will operate in an atmosphere of freedom and legality. When this happens, I am sure that the group belonging to 'Umar 'Ad-al-Rahman will get only 1 percent in the parliament."

He added: "We will stand solidly against the deviant elements in these groups. But banning Islamists from writing in the official and nonofficial newspapers, suppressing thoughts and freedom, and attacking Islam in the government media sources is rejected. This is the cause of the violence and the conflicts that we are experiencing. This prompts us to demand that the government grant the freedom to establish parties that are based on Islamic principles. After that, all of the parties, and those based on secular objectives that have nothing to do with Islam, will disappear."

Dr. Muhammad Abu-Musa, a professor at al-Azhar University, said: "In fact, if one knows the nature of the Egyptian people and appreciates the inclinations of individuals, he will definitely not stand against the establishment of parties whose programs include realizing most of the objectives of these groups. Perhaps the reason why people refrain from joining the existing parties is because their programs are not based on the shari'ah principles."

Continuing, he said: "Granting the freedom to establish parties that express the objectives, hopes, and inclinations of Islam will rally these groups, particularly because the existing parties do not encourage the youth to join them. The government must exploit this positive phenomenon and give the youth the opportunity to express their views through political, legal, open, and active organizations that would voice their thoughts, as is the case in all of the advanced democratic countries. If the youth were given this opportunity, they would not resort to violence."

Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Samawi stressed that the existence of an Islamic party that enjoys great freedom would have a positive effect. In such a party, the advocates of Islam would find an outlet. There is no doubt that this would be a cure for the repression under which many Muslims live.

In response to a question about to whether using the term "Islamic" to characterize a certain party would deny the Islamic character to the rest of the parties and individuals, Shaykh al-Samawi said: "This is not a condition. As in the case of a multiplicity of parties, no party claims that Islam is embodied in the persons of these parties. Such a party will be one of these groups."

Dr. Muhammad Sayyid al-Masir, professor at al-Azhar University, said that extremism has many reasons, including corruption, economic chaos, unemployment, and many other things. The right remedy is to adhere to religion, rectify the course of Islamic media, and adherence to curricula of Islamic teaching, beginning with the elementary class and ending with university level.

Al-Masir objected to the idea of establishing an Islamic party, saying that "this division is out of the question. There are general principles on which we all must agree, regardless of what the party is called. These are adhering to the Book of the Almighty, committing to Islamic values, spreading virtue, and renouncing vice. There will be no cure without these principles. Names are unimportant. What is important is to adhere to firm concepts that stem from the people's conscience and hopes."

Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid Matlub, head of the shari'ah department of the 'Ayn Shams University law faculty, objected to the idea of parties. He said: "There are no parties in Islam. The fact of the matter is that all of the Muslims are one single unit, as God the almighty said: 'This is your nation; it is one. I am the God you worship.'"

He said that all these parties have emerged only as a result of wars, seditions, divisions, and departure from God's laws. The Muslims lost Andalusia only after they disagreed and became divided. Therefore, Muslims should unite to spread the spirit of Islam and its principles in order to strengthen the nation.

Students Support Antiterrorist Policies

93AF0334B Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 19 Dec p 6

[Article by Radwan al-Zayyati]

[Text] The secretaries and assistant secretaries of student unions at Cairo University sent a telegram of support to President Muhammad Husni Mubarak affirming that, in the name of Egyptian youth, they stand as loyal soldiers behind his leadership in the battle to crush extremism and terrorism.

This was announced during a meeting that 'Abd-al-Muni'm 'Imarah, chairman of the Higher Council for Youth and Sports, held with the students. The meeting was attended by the university vice chancellors, directors of youth services, and Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahim, chairman of the Youth Organization.

At the meeting, 'Imarah stressed the need to step up the role of student unions and the need to devise plans to combat extremism and terror.

"The programs and activities of the Higher Council for Youth and Sports, in cooperation with the various social institutes, aim at reviving the national spirit and inculcating genuine religious values in the hearts of youths," he said.

He stressed that the government has a strong will, which makes it capable to deal with the problems of youths and find appropriate solutions for them. According to this philosophy, the higher council has turned many recreation camps into seminars in order to explain national issues, enlighten youth, and put the plain facts before them.

It has been decided to establish cultural training courses during the mid-term vacation for members of university student unions. During these training courses, there will be several debates about political and economic changes in Egypt and ways to develop activities in universities and campuses.

'Abd-al-Mun'im 'Imarah decided to allocate 11 buses from the Higher Council for Youth and Sports for the university students' trips. He also allocated 600,000 pounds, or 30,000 pounds for every university or university branch, as an initial payment to support student activities at universities this year.

Women's Role in Extremists' Acts Reviewed

93AF0341A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF
in Arabic 21 Dec 93 pp 28-31

[Article: "Terrorism Behind the Veil: 13 Terrorist Operations in Cairo Carried Out by Three Women"]

[Text] One woman took part in the assassination of al-Sadat. The story behind this piece of information, which is being revealed for the first time, is that one of the collaborators was being pursued by a police officer

after the assassination. The police officer followed the suspect into a high-rise building and knocked on the door of the apartment where he thought the suspect had gone. The door was opened by a woman whose face was covered. When the officer asked the woman about the fugitive, she replied that she had seen him go into the apartment across the hall.

As soon as the officer turned around to face the other side, the woman pulled out a rifle and fired more than 20 rounds into his body.

This woman is the same one who later confessed to being a member of the organization that had planned and carried out the operation.

Because some women are extremely religious, they wear cowl cloaks and veils that leave only their eyes uncovered. Others do so because they are obliged to obey the advice given to them by others. Still others wear cowl cloaks and facial covers because they are plotting to set fire to a video club or a beauty shop or because they are plotting to assassinate a president.

Police arrested three women who are members of extremist groups in al-Qalyubiyah before apprehending Jabir, the terrorist of Imbabah, in the apartment of a divorcee who had joined his group. Hiding behind their cowl cloaks and covered faces, these women set fires to video clubs and beauty shops in the area of 'Ayn Shams, and they also provided some members of the organization with hiding places.

Information received by the Security Administration in al-Qalyubiyah indicates that Samasim 'Abd-al-Fattah 'Abd-al-Rahim, a 33-year old divorcee living in the area of 'Ayn Shams in Cairo, had recently joined al-Jihad Organization and had become one of its active members. Taking advantage of the fact that her identity was hidden behind a cowl cloak and a facial cover, Samasim carried out some of the terrorist operations that the organization's leaders had instructed her to carry out.

Samasim's "trail" starts with 'Ashri Muhammad Ibrahim, a 26-year old carpenter who is now in custody pending a terrorism case. It was 'Ashri who would brief Samasim when she visited him in prison. He would tell her what the plan was, and she would carry it out.

Major General Usamah Dabbus, director of security in al-Qalyubiyah, mentioned that Samasim managed to recruit two young women who had joined the organization. They are 18-year-old Sayyidah Muhammad Jad-al-Rabb, the fiancée of one of the detained suspects in the case involving explosions at establishments that serve tourists, and 25-year-old Sayyidah Marzuq, a mother of three children. The women confessed under questioning that they had carried out terrorist operations.

They also stated that they uncovered their faces and took off their cowl cloaks when reconnoitering targeted sites. They would then devise a scheme and find a way to carry it out. They actually managed to carry out 13 terrorist missions, which included setting fire to three vehicles, four stores, five video clubs, and one beauty shop. The

range of their activity was extended to the areas of Shubra, al-Zaytun, and 'Ayn Shams, as well.

From incidents involving vehicles, video clubs, and a beauty shop in Cairo we shift our attention to the incident involving the train in Dayrut. Police in Dayrut summoned Mrs. Sabah Tulbah 'Abd-al-Wahab and asked her to identify the body of her son, Ahmad Muhammad Quraysh, the terrorist whose body was torn into bits and pieces in the explosion. Mrs Sabah remained unmoved by the sight of her son's torn body. She shed no tears and wore no mourning clothes. All she said was this: "This is not my son." Then she added, "My son is missing, and I do not know anything about him." Mrs Sabah's two other sons, Salah and Tariq, are members of extremist groups. They, too, are fugitives, and security agencies are looking for them.

Security agencies who conducted intensive investigations to uncover the ramifications of the train incident, focused their attention on Sabah 'Abd-al-Wahab, particularly because her two other sons, Salah and Tariq, are members of extremist groups and are also fugitives from the police. Further investigations revealed that this Sabah 'Abd-al-Wahab provided extremists with a place of refuge in her home and that these extremists used to call her "the mother of believers" because of her assistance to members of their groups in the village. Investigating agencies were able to monitor and track all those who visited her home and who had a relationship with her radical son who, it turned out, had been arrested five months earlier. Police were looking for the son before the train incident, and they had a warrant for his arrest.

And yet, Major General 'Abd-al-Wahab al-Hilali, director of security for Asyut, denied that any women or girls who were members of radical groups in the governorate had been apprehended.

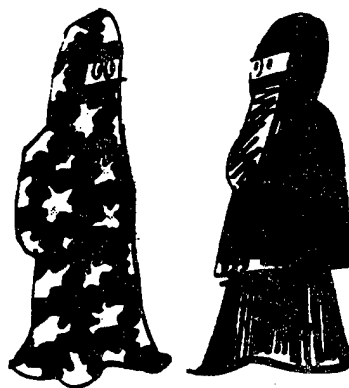
Al-Hilali said that "the reason why no women or girls were apprehended may lay with the well-known traditions and customs of the people of Upper Egypt. At any rate, we cannot analyze the reasons. We rather deal with the facts, especially with incidents occurring one after the other. Let's take the case of the woman who is called the "mother of believers," the woman who is the mother of the terrorist who blew up the train to Upper Egypt. That case is unique, and I believe that what she did was a normal manifestation of a mother's feelings: a mother who feels she has to shield and protect her son."

Security agencies traced a number of money transfer operations involving Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, the mufti of the extremist groups. 'Abd-al-Rahman, who now resides in the United States, transferred these funds to his wife in al-Fayyum. In the course of one month, the bank transfers that were traced were estimated to amount to about \$280,000. The transfers were made sequentially: There was one check for \$60,000, another for \$80,000, and a third for \$140,000.

Investigations conducted by security agencies confirmed that Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman's wife was distributing the funds to leaders of the organization in Egypt. She was distributing the funds sent to her by her husband, who was collecting contributions abroad to finance the organization's activity and the terrorist schemes that were being devised.

While the search for the fugitive radicals was on in al-Hamidat village after the Qina Governorate incident that involved the tourist bus, village residents confirmed that a woman who was not a village resident would come occasionally to the village. She would arrive in a car with a veil over her face and a cowl cloak covering her body, and she would give members of extremist groups in the village the money they wanted. Village residents tried to apprehend that woman, but she managed to escape.

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 21 Dec 92 p 18



— أنا في الجناح العسكري
للجماعة

"I am in the militant wing of the [Islamic] Jama'at"

In a related matter, suspect Sa'id Amin Abu-al-Majd confessed while he was being interrogated. He was the one who drove the pick-up truck that served as the getaway car for the terrorists who attacked the bus carrying German tourists in Qina. Abu-al-Majd confessed that Darawi, the man who led the operation, had contacted one of his neighbors in the town, a man whose name was 'Abd-al-Nasir. Darawi gave 'Abd-al-Nasir a black bag that contained a machine gun and live ammunition. According to Abu-al-Majd, Darawi contacted this 'Abd-al-Nasir upon the group's arrival at the outskirts of the town of al-Hujayrat and before they carried out their crime. Abu-al-Majd admitted that Darawi had asked 'Abd-al-Nasir to deliver the bag to his sister, Anwar Muhammad Ibrahim, who resided in the area of Naj'

Ma'la in al-Hujayrat. When security forces raided the home of the terrorist's sister, where the bag was found, Anwar admitted in the course of her interrogation that it was her neighbor who had brought the bag. She also admitted that she was going to deliver the bag to her brother.

Veiled women draped in cowl cloaks not only take part in carrying out terrorist operations, but they are also utilized to offer members of terrorist groups encouragement. Sayyid 'Abd-al-Raziq Badri, who was arrested recently in Musturud, admitted that the amir [commander] of the group had married him off to a young girl who is a member of the organization. He said the amir had given him 1,000 pounds for the engagement ring he would offer his wife and that he had bought him an apartment where he and his wife could live. Badri said that this amir was paying for his expenses, as well as those of his wife, and that he had asked him to carry out armed robberies against stores in al-Zaytun and al-Khankah where gold jewelry is sold. Badri admitted that he had also taken part in the attempted assassination of Muhammad 'Awad, warden of the Turah Penitentiary.

In other instances, women and their children are used as a shield to protect someone from an attack. This was what Hasan Shihatah, the terrorist, did when he was charged by Captain 'Ali Khatir and Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad al-Makhzanji who went at him to arrest him. Shihatah used his wife and his children as a human shield to protect himself. Manal Abu-Rawash, wife of the leader of the group that robbed the stores in al-Zaytun where gold jewelry is sold, also admitted that she was aware of the activity of her terrorist husband. She stated that her husband had forbidden her to watch television, and she said that he used to wake up at night to go perform target practice in a special place that he had designated for that purpose. She also said that her husband would always keep his automatic weapon by his side when he went to bed. Shihatah's wife also testified that her husband had taught her how to use a weapon, how to fire a gun, and how to deal with others when attacked.

Major General Usamah Dabbus, director of security in al-Qalyubiyah, points out that using women in terrorist operations is the latest practice that radical groups have resorted to recently. The purpose of this tactical change, according to Major General Dabbus, is to mislead security agencies whose antiterrorist measures were intensified against those who carried out violent incidents recently. The main problem with terrorist operations in which women are involved is the difficulty that security agencies find with identifying the women they want to arrest. Identification is difficult when a woman's only visible feature is her eyes. And yet, after the information about the three women was verified, they were apprehended and sent to the Department of Criminal Security at the Department of Security in Cairo.

Major General Yusri Shakir, director of security in Bani Suwayf, affirmed that radical groups have come a long

way in their recruitment of young females, especially their relatives, their wives, and their sisters who joined the organization and embraced the ideas of the radical groups. But every woman exercises her personal freedom with regard to whether or not she will cover her face and wear a cowl cloak. That choice becomes dangerous, however, when the cowl cloak and facial cover are used to conceal bombs or weapons or as a means of disguise. After all, the person behind that veil and cowl cloak cannot be identified, and no determination can be made as to whether that person is a woman or a man disguised as a woman. Information about many incidents which illustrate this practice have come to light. One such incident happened last year when a prisoner, who is a member of a radical group, managed to escape from prison when he received a visit from a woman who had concealed a veil and a cowl cloak for the prisoner under her own. The prisoner then wore the veil and the cowl cloak and walked out of prison without arousing anyone's suspicions. The young woman, who had come to visit, then left the prison after the prisoner did, and no one knew what had happened until the disappearance of the prisoner was discovered.

On other occasions, radical groups use women to recruit new members into the organization or to reward members who had carried out operations for the organization. [In the latter case] the amir [commander] of a group would choose a female member of the organization to become the wife of a group member who had earned a reward. In most cases, such a marriage would take place at no cost to the groom. The bride's dowry would be paid; a residence for the married couple would be provided, and all other expenses would be paid. After the marriage, of course, the wife would comply with her husband's commands, and she would do everything he would ask her to do. She would carry out reconnaissance operations, or she would carry and transport explosives and weapons. On some occasions women would undertake the task of carrying out an entire mission. They would, for example, set fire to stores or cars that the organization had planned to set fire to.

Major General Mahmud 'Antar, director of security in Qina, said: "We used to believe that the function of women in these radical groups was limited to that of a messenger, who would carry messages from imprisoned or detained leaders of the organization when they visited them in prison and deliver them to members of the groups outside prison. In most cases these messages consisted of instructions for carrying out terrorist operations or for planning assassinations, thefts against stores where gold jewelry is sold, or acts of arson against video clubs and other establishments. Recently, however, that approach underwent significant change after women who are members of the organization took part in carrying out these incidents. That was the case in the incidents which happened in Shubra al-Khaymah and involved video clubs and stores where gold jewelry is sold.

"There is less reliance on women in Upper Egypt where, as I mentioned, their role is limited to that of messenger and letter carrier. I believe that radical groups in Upper Egypt might use women to carry out some missions in the coming period. It is not likely, however, that women will be trained to use weapons and to fire them, at least not during this period."

Major General Muhammad Hasan Tantawi, the governor of Sawhaj, thinks that the introduction of women into the circle of extremism has numerous implications. "First, it means that these terrorist groups are becoming bankrupt and are abandoning their old confrontational

and scheming ways. Recently, these radical groups have started using women who do not wear veils and cowl cloaks. They would make these women flirt with the owners of a store, and they would then rob the store and assault the owner. That is why I would prefer considering these groups criminal gangs whose main objective is theft, murder, and asserting their power and authority over others. To accomplish their objectives these gangs use all the means they can use, even at the expense of principles, values, and morals. They act in a manner that is contrary to the slogans which they proclaim in the name of religion, a religion that cannot be implicated in their actions."

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